THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 161 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 11, 1945 NUMBER 5

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Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

MORE THAN THE ARRAIGNMENT OF AN AGED reactionary is involved in the Pétain trial; it adds up, as Charles Micaud points out on another page, to a grand inquest on the forces which for more than a century have struggled to undo the work of the French Revolution. During the past week the proceedings have been highlighted by the testimony of Laval and the letter written to Pétain by Admiral Leahy, American ambassador to Vichy from January 1941 to April 1942. It is easy to see why the defense protested vigorously when Laval was called as witness at the instance of the court. The slippery ex-Premier is concerned with saving his own skin; his evidence supports the Marshal's case only to the extent necessary for his own protection and, where the record is most damning, he seeks to place responsibility on his nominal boss. A notable instance is his admission that on June 22, 1942, he proclaimed over the radio his hopes for a German victory. "But," he adds, "that broadcast was approved by the Marshal." This damaging statement brought Pétain to his feet to break his vow of silence by a quavering denial.

*

ADMIRAL LEAHY'S LETTER STATES THAT HE first learned of Pétain's "sad predicament" on June 22 last when the Marshal's appeal to him to testify in his favor was delivered. (Is it possible that the President's chief military adviser never reads the papers?) It is clear that Pétain's request placed the Admiral himself in a pretty sad predicament. As he points out, his official position makes it impossible for him to become involved in French "internal controversy." Yet to ignore the appeal would be to turn his back on a man for whom he had frequently expressed warm friendship and to whose administration he had, by his continued presence at Vichy, lent an aura of respectability. Admiral Leahy attempts to back out of this uncomfortable corner carrying water on both shoulders—not an easy trick. He notes that the Marshal did sometimes take action "at my request in opposition to the desires of the Axis"; he recalls that on other occasions, when Nazi demands were accepted, Pétain defended this course on the grounds that refusal would result in additional suffering for the French people; he expresses his conviction "that your principal concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France." On the other hand, the Admiral feels constrained to point out—he has his own place in history to consider—that at the time he urged the point that "positive refusal to make any concessions to Axis demands . . . would, in the long view, have been advantageous to France." Thus he seeks to defend Pétain's motives while condemning his judgment. The record

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of the Admiral's mission to Vichy, however, leaves his own judgment very open to question and, therefore, justifies skepticism about the worth of his evaluation of Pétain's sincerity.

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FEW OF THE NAMES IN PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S government will be familiar to the average American but the men and women he has chosen are anything but a collection of political neophytes. Nearly all of those appointed to senior positions have had long Parliamentary records and considerable administrative experience either in previous Labor governments or in the late National government. We note with particular pleasure the appointment as Minister of Education of Ellen Wilkinson who, throughout the war, was Herbert Morrison's lieutenant at the Home Office. Miss Wilkinson has both drive and ability and her heart will be in the job of translating "equality of educational opportunity" from an ideal into a reality. A newcomer to office, though an old and skilled Parliamentary hand, is the dynamic Aneurin Bevan who, as Minister of Health, will be a leading member of the team assigned to tackle the housing problem. Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, will occupy another key position in this field. He has been for years one of the most valuable members of the London County Council and, as a leading expert in real-estate law, he should prove adept in cutting through the legal tangles with which landlords so often impede public housing. The job of overcoming the British coal crisis and fulfilling Labor's pledge to nationalize the mines goes to Emanuel Shinwell, who made an excellent record as Minister for Mines in the last MacDonald government. He combines a vast knowledge of the coal problem with incisive ability as a debater. These, then, are some sample bristles from the new broom with which Britain is to undertake a stupendous job of house-cleaning. In due course, we plan to present our readers with detailed information about many more of them.

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A STATEMENT BY THE TERRIBLE PROFESSOR Laski that public ownership of the Bank of England was the key to the Labor Party's program has toppled quotations for the Bank's stock and upset digestions in Wall Street as well as in London's "City." Mr. Laski declared: "A government which is not responsible for the operation of credit is not master in its own house." Just so, comments the *Wall Street Journal*: "When you can guide investment and when you can have direction over income and expenditure you certainly have mastery," and it goes on to suggest that nationalization of the Bank will be the first step to the enslavement of the British people. What it doesn't explain is why the control of British credit long exercised by the directors of the Bank did not involve "mastery" of the economy by a body responsible only to its shareholders. The answer the Labor Party would give is that the Bank did, in fact, have the power to decide how many men should be unemployed. Moreover, it ascribes the smashing of the Labor government in 1931 to the machinations of Montagu Norman, then Governor of the Bank, and it means to see that there is no repeat performance. However, the present excitement on this score seems a little disproportionate. As the *Wall Street Journal's* own London correspondent has cabled: "British financial observers find it difficult to see why proposals to socialize the Bank of England should be found so disturbing. Since the abandonment of the gold standard, the Bank's policies have been controlled by the British Treasury." In fact, in practically every country in the world, including the United States, control of the volume of credit has become a function of government. What British Labor now seeks is control of the direction of credit in accordance with a system of priorities which will give such necessities as housing precedence over luxuries. If the Tories had been returned to office, it is difficult to see how they could have done much less and kept their promises to the electors.

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THE HISTORY OF WARFARE PROVIDES NO parallel for the astonishing performance of the United States Third Fleet and attached British forces along the Japanese coasts for six weeks. Carrier-based planes, ranging in number up to 1,500 or more, have taken off day after day to destroy Japanese aircraft on the ground and in the air, sink coastal vessels, shoot up trains, and bomb naval bases. Surface elements of the combined fleets have paraded off-shore to shell factories, military installations, and even a railroad line, not once but more than half a dozen times. More than 1,000 aircraft and almost as many ships have been destroyed or damaged. And all this has been accomplished without serious opposition from the Japanese. It is as if an enemy fleet had been attacking Charleston, Norfolk, Baltimore, New York, and Providence, meeting no opposition from the U. S. Navy, the Army Air Forces, or the Coast Artillery, and with anti-aircraft fire directed only against attacks on our major fleet units in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. With this demonstration of power added to the continuous Superfort raids, the odds against the Japanese have become so long that a sudden surrender would not be surprising. But their failure to give up in the face of such odds and the clear threat of still worse punishment to come, also serves to indicate that there may never be a surrender, except piecemeal after the German pattern. The power is certainly there to force such a surrender, if that is the only way to win it.

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A FORTHRIGHT AND INFORMATIVE STATEMENT on the army's discharge policy is overdue. Secretary of War Stimson must know that his press handout on the subject last week was nothing of the sort. It was belligerent but it left unanswered the growing number of embarrassing questions hurled at the army concerning the slowness of the discharge process. "We shall not let any man go," Secretary Stimson announced, "whose going jeopardizes the life of the men who remain to fight." Does Mr. Stimson seriously imagine that anyone is asking the army to do so? The question is, when does such jeopardy really enter the picture and when is it just a rhetorical bogey invoked to help the army retain its grip on the maximum number of men for the maximum length of time? In view of the niggardly rate of discharge it is perfectly proper for citizens to ask why returned combat veterans with high point scores are engaged in picking up cigarette butts in domestic garrisons; and why we were able to discharge men over 38 to do particular types

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of civilian work when we were fighting a two-front war and have raised the age to 40 now that we have a one-front battle on our hands. Senator Johnson of Colorado has branded the discharge point system "a mathematical monstrosity" created "to stall, confuse, and bewilder." These are hard words, but taken on top of criticisms by Senator Downey, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, and Representative May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, they are worth more consideration than Mr. Stimson has deigned to give them. Demobilization is not exclusively a G. I. problem. To drop 10,000,000 men into the country's economy with the sound of the war's final shot would obviously be disastrous. Equally disastrous, and even more cruel, would be an effort to keep millions of veterans doing close-order drill for a year or so after the war. The only way out of the dilemma is to discharge *now* as many as can possibly be spared without slowing the war on Japan. In the last analysis the army must be the judge on this vital point—but even judges may be called to account.

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A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE operations of the Office of the Alien Property Custodian is not only long overdue but essential if we are to end the covert power exercised by German cartels over industry in the United States and Latin America before the war. The sensational discovery reported from Frankfurt-am-Main by a correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* in the Bosch case provides a typical example of the underhanded methods used. Army investigators found secret contracts between Robert Bosch and the Enskilda banking interests in Stockholm, ostensible owners of the American Bosch Company. These agreements provided for the secret maintenance of German ownership and control. I. F. Stone then discovered, and reported in *PM*, that while the American Bosch company was taken over in 1942 by the Alien Property Custodian, the company is still being run by the pre-war management. The army in Germany found a memorandum from George Murnane, the New York banker, assuring the German firm of his loyal intention to resume pre-war relations after the war was over. Stone reported that this same Murnane is today chairman of the board of the company under the Alien Property Custodian. It is time Congress found out in how many cases "seized" companies are still in the hands of the old managements and prepared to resume old cartel ties once the war is ended.

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CONGRESSIONAL TOURISM WILL PROBABLY BE cramped by the President's directive denying service transport facilities except to traveling groups formally authorized by Congress. Anxious as we are to see our legislators' stock of knowledge about foreign countries increased, we can only approve checks to "fact-finding" expeditions of the kind that recently whirled through London. This unofficial committee of eleven Congressmen is engaged, according to its spokesman, Representative Wickersham, "in an intensive study of conditions abroad." Its itinerary calls for stays as follows, including in each case time spent in traveling: England, Scotland, and Wales, three days; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, four days; one day each in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Irak, and Iran. "Complexity of Near East problems," commented the London *Evening Standard,* "must account for the slow-down in the search for facts which occurs at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Damascus, Port Said, and Cairo. For each of these towns a whole day of study is allowed." Then Casablanca, which has a fine resort hotel, is given two days, though just what is to be investigated there is not revealed. As the *Manchester Guardian* remarked, Phineas Fogg is the only known rival of these gentlemen and his concern was solely with beating the clock. As a contribution to international gaiety, junkets of this kind are all very well. But it is not so funny when Congressmen return to pose as "experts" on a score of countries and to deliver *ex cathedra* a jumble of misinformation and undigested opinion.

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DR. GERHARD ANSCHUETZ WAS THE AUTHOR OF the Weimar Constitution and so, naturally enough, he spent ten years of Hitler's reign in a Nazi prison. During those ten years, he thought and thought about the Nazi dictatorship and how it happened. It happened, Dr. Anschuetz says, because of paragraph 54 of the Constitution, which permitted the President of the German Republic to assume all power in the event of a national emergency. Under it, President Hindenburg declared the unemployment crisis an emergency and called upon Adolf Hitler to solve it. And then one thing led to another until the Nazi state came into full bloom. Anyway that's how Dr. Anschuetz figured it out. And he promises that if he has anything to do with writing another constitution for Germany there won't be any paragraph 54 in it; instead there will be a system of checks and balances as in the American Constitution. We think all this is very sound but we wonder if it ever occurred to the good professor during his ten-year *Denkfest* that there were a few other things wrong with Weimar Germany besides paragraph 54; and that one of them was too many—far, far too many— Dr. Anschuetzes.

Unfinished Business

THE Senate has joined the House in a summer recess that is scheduled to continue until October 8. Under normal circumstances no one would begrudge Congressmen a two-month respite in a busy legislative year; but these are not normal times. The imminence of victory in the war carries the threat of economic catastrophe unless the government has a workable program for the transition period—and virtually no legislation has been enacted to assure smooth reconversion and adequate post-war employment. If under ceaseless bombing Japan should reconsider its rejection of the Potsdam ultimatum we would be faced with unprecedented unemployment. The Administration would be powerless to combat the combined deflationary effects of the cancellation of war contracts and the demobilization of ten to eleven million servicemen.

Senator Barkley reminded the Senate of its shirked responsibilities on the day of adjournment by listing fifteen domestic measures that had been recommended by Presidents

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Roosevelt and Truman but ignored by Congress, including such major items as revision of the Social Security Act, rehabilitation and reintegration of the armed forces, public housing and highway improvement, additional valley authorities patterned after the TVA, medical insurance for low-income groups, and liberalization of unemployment compensation; to this list should be added legislation to protect the jobs of racial and religious minorities. These measures represent the minimum of esssential short-range planning to prevent a crisis.

Most urgent among the items of unfinished business, however, is legislation implementing President Roosevelt's campaign promise of 60,000,000 post-war jobs. A full-employment program is not something that can be improvised in a few days when the crisis is upon us. In view of the advanced state of the war against Japan we cannot safely wait until October to begin consideration of this indispensable program. At this stage delay is irresponsible.

The report of the Mead committee indicates that there are many vital matters in connection with the war itself that should have attention. The conflict between the army and the various civilian agencies responsible for production apparently has reached such proportions that it cannot be resolved by War Mobilizer Snyder or even by the President without Congressional aid. In his attacks on the army for hoarding men who are urgently needed in crucial sectors of the civilian economy, Senator Johnson has raised fundamental questions regarding the War Department's demobilization policy. Since the public has not sufficient information to decide what the right answer to these questions is, it is clearly up to Congress to provide it. A careful and prompt investigation is in order. We hope one of the President's first acts upon returning to Washington will be to insist that Congress get back on the job.

The Potsdam Decision

I. Only a Beginning

THE making of peace in Europe is a job that has two main parts. One is the final destruction of German military power. That part of the job was well planned at Potsdam. The other is far more elusive and difficult to accomplish. It is the creation of positive conditions which will encourage peace and friendly dealings among nations. This part of the job was only begun at Potsdam.

The smashing of German power had largely been achieved by the combined armies of the victorious Allies. What remained was a considerable industrial plant which might some day be used for the production of arms, and a lingering reluctance among certain sections of the German people to believe that they were totally and finally licked. Potsdam provided a program for ending both sources of possible future trouble.

The industrial capacity of Germany beyond what is required for peace-time needs, frugally defined by the victors, is to be carted off to build up the productive strength of the United Nations, particularly Russia. The economic details of this plan are discussed below. What it adds up to in broad terms is that Germany will be reduced to poverty. Its role as an industrial power will pass to other nations. It will not be able to plan to make war for it will have neither the resources nor the machinery to turn out modern weapons.

The other necessity was to change the attitude of the German people. It may be true, as most Germans today insist, that a majority of the people disliked the Nazi dictatorship. But whether it is true or not, no one can doubt that a dangerous proportion of Hitler's subjects accepted the twin ideas of Teutonic superiority and the omnipotence of the state. At Potsdam the German state went out of existence, formally as well as actually. This event more than any other should drive into the German mind the reality of defeat, and its meaning. For in Hitler's Reich even the army came second. It was the mighty dictator-state, personified by the Führer, defended by the Wehrmacht, that concentrated in itself all the energy and intelligence and power of the people. Now the state has been supplanted by the absolute military rule of four victorious powers which will control Germany from top to bottom until it has developed acceptable evidence of a capacity to rule itself—peaceably and under democratic safeguards. This short demonstration of the collapse of the Hitler myth was a necessary contribution to the mental and emotional disarming of Germany. The "master race" was officially interred at Potsdam in the rubble of administrative buildings.

But the crushing of German power leaves a wide area for positive measures of peace-making in Europe. In this area the victors must establish justice, social equality, political freedom, and the protection of the rights of individuals and minorities and lesser nations—for these are the only secure foundations on which peace can rest. At Potsdam they made a few hopeful gestures in this direction. As far as Germany is concerned, the most hopeful was the agreement to permit political and trade-union activity among anti-Nazi groups. The Russians have allowed parties to function from the beginning of their occupation; now the permission will be extended to the whole country. Obviously it will be a half-artificial exercise as long as foreign military control continues. But it will give democratic elements among the people a chance to rebuild organizations crushed by the Nazis and to establish lost habits of administration. Out of this will come gradually a new political life for Germany. It is too early to try to guess what shape that life will take. What must be recognized is that the German people will meanwhile be preserved in a state of artificial social and political peace—like prisoners in a well-run jail—and will therefore have no opportunity to assist actively in the purge of the fascist poison that permeated the body of their country. That job will be left to the victors; and the Germans will be robbed of what would have given them their best chance of political health.

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Perhaps the most valuable positive act of the Potsdam conferees was the slap administered to Franco. This should knock out from under his regime a major prop, particularly if it is followed with the severing of diplomatic relations by Britain and the United States and an economic boycott such as was applied for a time to Argentina. Franco's reaction to the verdict shows how fully he realizes his danger. While the Spanish Republicans pull together their strong but scattered forces, the Generalissimo is hastily summoning his advisers to consider ways of circumventing the intentions of the Big Three. He will have to work fast, for this time it looks as if the powers meant business. The new British government is clearly not going to continue Churchill's tactics, and even in Washington one can detect evidences of impending change.

This move, together with the decision to make the peace promptly with Italy and Hitler's other former associates, will have a wholesome effect on the entire European situation. It will make possible the renewal of normal processes of trade and diplomatic intercourse and restore hope to peoples who have labored too long under the frustrations of military control and political intervention.

A third excellent decision reached at Potsdam was to establish a Council of Foreign Ministers to carry on from where the three chiefs of state left off. This is a long-needed change. The European Advisory Commission has never had the authority to lay down major policies. The new Council presumably will have. In view of the gap left in the settlement of Europe's outstanding problems, the creation of this Council is of immense importance.

For the gaps are enormous. They cover the larger part of the territorial claims that have been put forward by various nations and a wide range of economic and political adjustments. The start made in this field at Potsdam was not auspicious. We are particularly disturbed by the tentative decision, which will, however, almost certainly be ratified, to turn over to Poland areas of Germany west of the Oder and Neisse rivers. Changes on Poland's western frontier were inevitable, but the annexation of such vast German regions is certain to create dislocations. The history of irredentism after the last war should have been a warning to the powers at Potsdam—including Poland itself. It is to be hoped that a better solution will be reached when the questions of Germany's western boundaries and of other disputed frontiers are considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

II. Germany's Economic Future

THE ECONOMIC terms imposed on Germany by the Potsdam conferees are both harsher and more realistic than those of the Versailles Treaty. They are more likely to result in the actual extraction of reparations than the astronomical bill presented in 1919. That bill could be paid only by the delivery of newly produced goods (which the debtor countries were mostly reluctant to receive), and, before such goods could be forthcoming, Germany had to be supplied with credits for raw materials and for expanding its industry. This time payment is to be in the form of existing capital equipment and will be directly linked with disarmament. Germany will thus make reparation through the loss of its war potential, which, it has been estimated, includes a productive capacity in the heavy industries about four times greater than a peacetime economy would require.

For the division of the reparations taken, a rather elaborate formula has been concocted which, nevertheless, still leaves certain points obscure. Russia gets a major share, since it is to have whatever is removed from its own occupation zone plus 10 per cent of the takings in the western zone. In addition it is to get 15 per cent of the total western "removals" against payment in food and raw materials. Out of its share Russia is to settle Polish claims but apparently it retains full discretion respecting the amount and nature of the satisfaction given. Claims of the United States, Great Britain, "and other countries entitled to reparations" are to be met from the western zone and from external German assets. As we pointed out last week, the division of reparations ought to be determined by agreement among the interested states and not by Anglo-American ukase. But on this point the communiqué is silent.

While removals of reparations property are to begin as soon as possible, the amount and character of "the industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy and therefore available for reparations" is to be decided by the Control Council comprised of the four Allied "zone commanders." The Council, however, must follow principles fixed by the Allied Commission of Reparations, which is to include France, while final approval must be given by the commander of the zone from which equipment is to be removed. It is not going to be easy to operate all this complicated machinery without friction and delays. But, at least, it is encouraging to learn that during the occupation period "Germany shall be treated as an economic unit."

"Payment of reparations," the Potsdam report declares, "should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." They must, however, another paragraph suggests, subsist mainly by means of agriculture and light industry. Their standard of living is not to exceed "the average of the standards of living of European countries"—excluding the U. S. S. R. and Britain. Just what this may mean it is hard to say. Before the war living standards in Europe varied tremendously: they were comparatively high in such western countries as Denmark and Holland, very low in the Balkan countries. That of Germany was almost certainly above the average, so that a decline, and probably a steep one, is to be its lot. On this score the Germans can hardly expect better treatment; they have no claim to more than subsistence so long as the countries they have victimized remain on short rations.

But the question does arise as to whether the arrangements made by the Big Three will permit even a low average standard to be maintained. Germany will have to grow almost all its own food since its much reduced surplus of coal and manufacturers will be needed to buy raw materials. Moreover, it will have to produce its food in an area barely three-quarters of the size of the pre-Hitler Reich if, as seems certain, the provisional assignment to Poland of territories extending to the Oder and Neisse rivers is sustained.

Moreover, this diminished area will have to provide for a much bigger population than formerly since eventually ten or twelve million Germans are to be thrown out of the Sudetenland, Hungary, and the new Polish provinces. Even after

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making allowances for the very heavy casualties which Germany suffered in the war, it appears certain that the country is going to be seriously over-crowded.

In time Germany may be able to intensify its agriculture—it would require a big production of fertilizer, and fertilizer manufacture is closely linked to that of explosives—and so provide the bulk of its food and employment for a larger population on the land than before the war. But it would still have to find jobs for a very large number of industrial workers. If the Ruhr remains German—the French would like to include it in a separate Rhineland state—it will still have surplus coal. But most of the raw materials it would need to operate light industries on a larger scale would have to be imported and that means it must rebuild its export trade. By means of low wages, and under the conditions being set for Germany wages will inevitably be low there, it might be able to offer consumers' goods—textiles, toys, clocks, furniture, drugs, and so on—at very competitive prices. What will this mean in terms of labor standards in other countries?

Presumably, the suppression or strict limitation of the German metal and chemical industries will mean reduced competition in world markets for America and Britain. But if Germany's selling opportunities are thus curtailed, so too will be its ability to buy. Before the war it was a very large importer of primary products from all parts of the world. In particular, it was the chief customer for the agricultural surpluses of southeastern Europe which, in turn, looked on German industry as its main source of manufactured goods. Who will now buy these surpluses and so enable the Balkan countries to obtain the industrial goods they need? Will Russia, which in normal times is likely to produce similar surpluses itself?

The fact is that Germany's change of economic status must have wide repercussions beyond its own borders and it is not clear that the Potsdam conferees have considered all the economic implications of their decisions. A poverty-stricken Germany, bottled up in a confined space, must remain an endless problem, however much its aggressiveness is curbed by strong-arm methods. Some means must be found to integrate it with the European economic system, of which geographically it forms the heart, or the penalties we impose upon it will backlash on its neighbors. From this point of view the economic section of the Potsdam report is disappointingly negative.

Negrín's Fight for Unity

BY J. A. DEL VAYO

Mexico City, August 5 (By cable)

THE Spanish issue is rapidly moving toward a climax. Developments during the week in which this dispatch appears may well prove decisive for the Republican cause. Two events have sharply accelerated the tempo. The first was the decision of the Big Three to bar Franco Spain from the United Nations. The second was the first public report to the Spanish Republicans by Dr. Juan Negrín of his stewardship as Prime Minister, delivered at the Bellas Artes Theater here on Wednesday evening, August 1. Called on four days' notice, the meeting was generally considered the most impressive and significant Republican event of recent years. It was an invitation affair, and the hall was filled to capacity. The organizers of the meeting said that the number of requests for tickets on the morning of the day it was to be held would have filled a hall five times its size. The selection of the Bellas Artes, Mexico's finest auditorium, was in itself a political event. Under government regulations the theater is barred to political meetings. The authorities made an exception for Negrín.

The address of the Republican Prime Minister was delivered in an atmosphere of great solemnity and even austerity. The hall was decorated only with the colors of Spain and Mexico. There were no introductions and no closing remarks. Dr. Negrín was the sole speaker. At eight o'clock sharp the lights went on. Dr. Negrín appeared on the platform, briefly acknowledged the applause of the audience, and launched at once into a two-hour discourse—a discourse interrupted dramatically when, for five minutes, the electric current failed and the audience, which had been following him with close attention, spontaneously lighted matches and cigarette-lighters to illuminate the stage and his manuscript. Dr. Negrín's only acknowledgment was to move forward to the edge of the platform to receive this improvised light, and the address continued. The first half was devoted to the causes which led to the defeat of the Republican forces. It was the first public speech which Dr. Negrín had made as head of the Government of Resistance since the meeting of Parliament at Figueras in 1939. During all these intervening years opponents of Negrín have represented the attempt of the government to go to Madrid and carry on the fight there after the loss of Catalonia as a heroic but futile gesture. On Wednesday, Dr. Negrín explained why continued Spanish resistance made sense, emphasizing how in the Second World War the resistance in 1940, by Russia at Moscow and Stalingrad, and by Yugoslavia, proved decisive factors in the outcome of the war. If the Casado revolt in Madrid had not taken place the Republican army could have resisted for a long time. In making this report Negrín wanted not only to justify the government's policy of resistance but also publicly to brand the British and French agents who conspired to bring about the surrender of Madrid.

At the same time he made known the limits to his own policy of unity. In the new coalition, he said, all Republicans may find a place except those who betrayed the Republic and delivered Madrid to Franco. With those there is no possibility of understanding. They had sinned against Spain as much as Franco had, and they must be excluded. He was referring to Colonel Casado and his accomplices.

The second half of his speech was a full report on the

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activities of the government since its departure from Spanish soil. Freed from the silence imposed upon him by the war, he recited a series of acts clearly indicating that at no time had the government given up the fight for the Republic. He received a great ovation when he said: "I do not want a Republic restored by the intervention of any foreign power. I want a Republic restored by the action of Spaniards." He stated that the policy of his government had been consistently based on collaboration with the United Nations and particularly with the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France. Sarcastically dismissing allegations of communism, he demanded, at the same time, respect and justice in the new coalition for all the parties which through the years have fought for the restoration of the Republic.

Dr. Negrín insisted that without agreement on the part of at least a majority of the parties, if not all of them, the government was in no position to act with the authority and efficiency demanded by the decisive character of the present moment. "We can hardly ask for recognition from other governments for a government which is not recognized by Spanish Republicans." He affirmed his readiness to support any solution which would end the present stalemate, even offering to withdraw as Prime Minister if such a concession would lead to real unity and a much broader coalition than could be obtained under his leadership. Until such a solution is found he will not desert his post.

The speech has made a deep impression. Virtually every legation in Mexico has asked for the full text, and many members of the diplomatic corps were present to hear it delivered. In Republican circles the effect has been to accelerate greatly the negotiations which have been going on continuously for three weeks. Within the first forty-eight hours after the meeting Negrín saw more people than in all the days previously. If a Gallup poll were to be taken of Republican sentiment here today, Negrín would receive on overwhelming majority. The opposition boils down to the Prieto group, and there, aside from personal animosities, the basis of disagreement is objection to the inclusion of Communists in a coalition government. The tactics of the Prietists are causing defections from their ranks. *El Universal* "leaked" the story that when Prieto was in New York recently he refused to see Negrín and that, despite this, Negrín later called at the hospital where Prieto had undergone an eye operation, to wish him a speedy recovery. This has created a profound impression. Many Spaniards have also resented the statement, issued by the Círculo Pablo Iglesias headquarters of the Prieto group, that Negrín has no right to speak as a Socialist, although he is a member not only of the party but of its executive committee elected in Spain. Political tension is approaching the explosion point. Only the other day two Prietists were forced to leave a coffee house frequented by Spanish Republicans.

During the three weeks of his stay in Mexico, Negrín has been constantly engaged in negotiations with the political groups. He has seen the leaders of the following parties and their subdivisions: Izquierda Republicana, Unión Republicana, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Esquerra Catalana, Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataliña, Unión General del Trabajo, Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Partido Federal. From them he has sought agreement on the following four basic points:

1. Coordination of efforts inside and outside Spain to hasten the liberation of the Spanish people and the reestablishment of the Republic.

2. An amnesty which opens the way for a general policy of national reconciliation.

3. Election in Spain of a new Parliament — with the least possible delay after the liberation of the country.

4. Continuation of the policy of solidarity with the United Nations, of which the Republic feels morally a part.

Drawing by David Stone Martin

Prime Minister Negrín

By Sunday, Negrín's political conversations were practically ended. One of the longest was with delegates of the Prieto group, Otero and Albar. Negrín's position was by this time perfectly clear to all the persons with whom he had talked. But in order to put a stop to the maneuvers of those who still represent him as clinging at any price to his office, he made the following declaration to Agencia España:

"I do not know how to state matters more plainly than I have already done. It is absolutely false to suggest that I am trying to hold on to my position as head of the Republican government. I came to Mexico to request the cooperation of the parties and of public opinion in order to proceed as rapidly as possible to the selection of a president of the Republic so that the ministerial crisis can be solved in a constitutional way. That has been my desire and my will for two years, as I explained on Wednesday night. The accession of the Provisional President of the Republic will automatically produce the resignation of the government. And it is the exclusive right of the President to choose the person who will be intrusted with the formation of a new government."

Within the next few days the final results of his negotiations will be known. There is a growing belief that rapid decisions must be made. Negrín himself has in effect told the parties: "I shall accept any solution upon which you agree, if it is a constitutional solution. If we put off a settlement of the political crisis until a meeting of the Cortes can be called, it may mean a delay of two months. Do you think, after Potsdam, we can wait so long? Or might it not be wiser to settle the crisis now and submit our decisions to the Cortes afterward?" Some persons have proposed that constitutional procedures be telescoped in order to set up a broad coalition government in exile as soon as possible. This would mean appointing a Provisional President in the Person, probably, of Martinez Barrio—without waiting for the Cortes, which must eventually, of course, ratify all decisions.

In the week beginning tomorrow the parties and leaders must find the answer to Negrín's question. The masses of Spaniards agree with him that there is no time to be lost.

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Will America Go Socialist?

BY I. F. STONE

THE results of the British elections pose two tasks for the Left in the United States. One is to provide American support for the program to which Attlee and his associates are pledged. The other is to exploit fully at home the political repercussions of Labor's victory in Britain. Both require that we begin to think and talk in frankly socialist terms.

I need hardly dwell on what the success of the new British Labor government means to all of us. The hope of achieving socialism without bloodshed and dictatorship, of developing a democratic socialism suited to the Western European and American peoples, of avoiding the creation of a monolithic state, of preserving elements of economic freedom and enterprise within the framework of socialist direction and planning, depend on the outcome in Britain. The failure of the British Labor government would weaken democracy and socialism throughout Western and Central Europe and revive the danger of an Anglo-American coalition against the Soviet Union.

Many of the major domestic problems which face the new Attlee Cabinet are of international importance. Effective mobilization of Britain's coal industry is almost a life-and-death matter for ravaged Europe. Socialist reconstruction of Britain's bombed-out areas would provide experience of the greatest value in the field of public housing everywhere. A full-employment economy in England, by expanding the need for basic materials from abroad, would make it easier to create full employment in other countries.

In the field of foreign policy, maintenance of Labor's power in England provides substantial basis for the maintenance of democratic regimes in Europe and their establishment in Asia. In the field of colonial policy, Labor offers the one possibility of working out a program which will realize the potentialities and satisfy the aspirations of the colonial peoples. But the attainment of these objectives will not be automatic. The realization of a socialist program in Britain will depend on the extent to which Labor's followers at home can keep the heat on their leaders, many of them rather weak-kneed men, and the extent to which Labor's friends abroad can protect them from the pressure that will surely be exerted against socialist policies by Wall Street. This is where we come in.

The new British government's severest economic difficulties would seem to lie in the foreign field. From a financial point of view, the nationalization of coal, steel, or transport is little more than the matter of exchanging the securities of new public corporations for those of the private enterprises to be taken over. It is Britain's heavy dependence on the import of materials and food from abroad that constitutes the crucial weakness of the new regime. These imports must increase sharply if there is to be adequate rehousing and full employment. Two costly world wars have largely exhausted the foreign investments which might have financed these imports. For the next five or ten years Britain will need extensive loans and credits, and these must come principally from the United States.

Openly or covertly, attempts will be made to exact a political price for these loans. The price asked will be the abandonment of socialist policies. To counteract Wall Street pressure on Britain, the Left in this country must create wide public understanding of the need for socialist measures to solve Britain's economic problems. In housing, coal, transport, credit, power, and steel, these are not a matter of theory but of economic necessity. The housing problem is too enormous for British private enterprise to handle. Britain's basic resource, coal, is in the hands of a sick industry that can be restored to health only under public ownership. The backward British steel industry needs public funds for modernization, and the cartel must be taken over by the government if prices are to be reduced to a level on which British steel can again compete in world markets and pay for British imports. This whole story cannot be told in the current fashion of lip-service to the sacred cow of "private enterprise." It requires education in socialism.

The other side of the story is to explain that, unless it is to follow a policy of suicidal reaction, American finance capital must support Britain's experiment. An economically thriving Britain is essential to an economically prosperous world. To choke off the limited socialist program to which the new Labor government is pledged is not to save private enterprise in Britain but to assure its disappearance under the combined effects of depression and the demand for more radical and sweeping measures. To deny Britain loans would be to force the new government toward intensive use of the foreign-trade controls that spell disaster for the free and expanding world market on which the future of American capitalism itself depends. It would also invite the empire and Europe to combine against us for self-preservation.

Fundamentally, and this brings us to the American home front, the future of American capitalism is not so different from that of British capitalism. It is younger and healthier and has more elbow-room than its British brother. But here as there the preservation of areas of genuine free enterprise depends on large admixtures of socialism. And here as there full employment cannot be achieved without over-all planning and direction by government. The effect of the British elections has been to bring some glimmering of this home to American conservative opinion. An example is provided by Mark Sullivan's sudden advocacy (New York *Herald Tribune*, August 3) of the Full-Employment bill "as doing for American capitalism what socialism promises to do for Britain." When Sullivan moves that far left, it is time for the rest of us to move over.

We need to abandon the shabby and inadequate catchwords of the New Deal, its bootstrap economics and subsidies for planned scarcity. It is time to lay the foundations

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for a new socialist movement in America, to analyze our problems in socialist terms, to begin a campaign of public education in them. What I am suggesting is a Marxist approach, but one which will be non-sectarian, undogmatic, and rooted in a realistic appraisal of concrete problems.

It would be good if we began with something like Britain's Fabian Society, a group of scholars and experts who could make a study of American industry and economy from a frankly socialist rather than a "liberal" point of view, but so ably, objectively, and accurately as to command respect among thoughtful men of all shades of opinion. There ought to be sources to which newspapermen, labor leaders, and legislators could go for comprehensive socialist analyses of such matters as the situation in the railroads, the farm problem, the question of steel prices. Above all we need a new examination, this time from the left, of America's capacity to produce and to consume, made in terms of each industry and each commodity, with a view to the planned expansion of production and a steady rise in living standards.

Current liberal shibboleths and leftist ignorance are an obstacle to the solution of basic American economic problems. A striking example in the former field was the anticlimactic nonsense about a return to "free enterprise" in railroading which capped Wallace's otherwise able analysis of the transportation problem in his famous speech at Dallas. A less obvious example of the latter is the current vagueness about the steel industry. It is not enough to criticize a pricing system which supports half-capacity operations. The real problem is to work out a program under which full-capacity output would be economically possible.

There are areas in the American economy, like railroading and power, where government ownership would immensely stimulate genuine enterprise in other businesses. There are other areas in which anti-trust enforcement is hopeless and only government competition can restore economic health. There are problems like full employment, the low living standards of the South, the mechanization of agriculture, which can be met only by planned cooperation between governmental agencies and private owners. These are characteristic problems of a mixed economy, and they will best be met by socialist prodding and socialist understanding. The world is moving inevitably toward socialism, and if the transition in our own country is to be brought about by democratic means, these are the paths along which we must begin to move. It is time for the American Left to follow the British example.

The New Labor Parliament

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

[*Mr. Vallance, formerly editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *is now on the staff of the* New Statesman and Nation. *In 1939 he was a frequent contributor to* The Nation. *During the war he has been Director of Psychological Warfare for the British War Office.*]

London, August 1 (By Cable)

THE ballot boxes sealed for three weeks kept hidden the fact that July 5 witnessed a silent revolution in British political life. At this Wednesday's assembly of Parliament the choosing of a Speaker presented a remarkable contrast to observers sufficiently venerable, like your correspondent, to remember 1919. Then, under the leadership of the architect of victory, Lloyd George, the government benches thronged by elderly "hard-faced men who had done well out of the war," reflected the nation's acceptance of a policy allowing private enterprise a free rein in the short-view exploitation of a profitable peace. The nation's emphatic refusal to repeat this experience is manifest today on the benches crowded by Laborites who give a vivid impression of youthfulness, vigor, and practical idealism.

In the House of Commons, now effectively reverted to a two-party system, the outstanding feature is that Labor is no longer a mere political wing of the industrial movement. Out of 390 members, whose average age of less than forty-five compares with that of fifty-five in the last Parliament, only 120 are trade-union officials, mainly from coal and transport. The remainder naturally includes a number of individual trade unionists, manual or technical workers, but these were selected by "constituency" Labor parties and therefore are not tied to trade-union apron strings. An analysis of the members shows nearly 50 per cent from the middle class—more than forty lawyers, thirty business men, twenty journalists, twenty teachers, ten doctors, a good sprinkling of economists, accountants, engineers, clergymen, architects, and farmers, not forgetting one film director, one playwright, and two barbers. The servicemen exceed one-third of the total, which includes twenty-one women and over 100 members with previous experience in municipal government.

The consequence is that Britain has, for the first time, a positively socialist Parliamentary party in power with the probability of a long tenure increased, first, by the unlikelihood of the domination of a sectional trade-union view, and second, by the support of an impressively wide cross-section of the community, rural as well as urban, as indicated by the extent to which the landworkers and traders in small market towns have defied the squires and gone left. Those who, like Herbert Morrison, have always argued that a Labor Party based exclusively on an appeal to industrial workers would be unable to secure power, can now point to a convincing black-coated conversion to the socialist cause. Labor is truly the inheritor of that popular evolutionary upsurge which brought about the Reform Act of 1832, transferring political power from a landowning oligarchy to the mercantile middle class, and which, with the Liberal victory of 1906, ushered in an era of reformed social services.

We must recognize, of course, that the voting on July 5 was in part "anti" the Tories and Churchill. The electorate

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Prime Minister Attlee

was not ungrateful to its great war leader but it regarded the flagrant Tory effort to convert the election into a personal plebiscite for the former Prime Minister as a real threat to democratic institutions. When Churchill took Beaverbrook's fatal advice and sponsored an extravagantly partisan campaign of distortion, vilification, and bogey-raising stunts ("Gauleiter Laski," "Marxist," "Gestapo," etc.) he committed political suicide. "Not cricket" is a deadly verdict in England. Nearly every constituency visited by Churchill in a victory parade through cheering crowds rejected the Tory candidate, and even in his own constituency, uncontested by Labor, 10,000 votes were cast against him in favor of a "philosophic farmer" candidate. The fact is that the majority of the electorate took the election much more seriously than Beaverbrook, who never understood England, imagined. They were unimpressed by scares or appeals to "vote national: vote Churchill"—slogans of the predominantly Conservative big-circulation press. Long before the dissolution of Parliament they had reached their verdict on the domestic and international results of fourteen years of Tory rule. The men of Munich no less than the slum landlords and industrialists, who had preferred the profits of scarcity to full employment, received a delayed sentence.

The positive side of the polling results, however, is equally manifest. Significantly, the Liberals shared the Tory rout. The sponsoring of 300 candidates with no possibility of winning office was regarded justly as an attempt to throw a monkeywrench into the works. The electorate had doubts about a party which gave the impression that it was composed partly of camouflaged reactionaries and partly of Beveridgites afraid to face the logic of their own thinking. In addition, after the disillusioning compromises of the long coalition, the country's mood was hostile to the idea of a center party holding the balance. Liberalism still represents nearly 10 per cent of British opinion, but the party's votes were thinly scattered and the party is dead as an electoral force. Equally emphatic was the rejection of the splinter groups—Common Wealth and the Communists—illustrating an impatience with irresponsible left extremism and a sober determination to have a practical program of democratic socialism applied to everyday problems.

These problems are many and clamant, notably the appalling scarcity of houses and consumers' goods, congested trains, a grave shortage of manpower for reconversion to civilian industries, the continued separation of families due to slow demobilization, and the threatening wage disputes of the dockers and railmen. In a war-tired country irritation and disenchantment will flare up if there are any signs of the government's failure to live up to Morrison's promise of "bold, decisive, sensible" action. The difficulty will be to assign correct priorities to Parliamentary measures. Housing apart, it will be necessary to expedite bills implementing, first, improved workers' accident compensation; second, the promised Beveridge social-security plan including full national health service; third, the nationalization of coal mines and of the Bank of England, pending the formulation of plans to control transport, electricity, and land acquisition along the lines of the Uthwatt report, and the general location of industries. Die-hard opposition by the House of Lords is unlikely, but the essentially dilatory legislative procedure of the Commons must be speeded up.

Fortunately there is no Labor commitment to produce the millenium like a rabbit from a conjurer's hat; moreover, the mass of the party's supporters are neither utopians nor direct actionists but solid, sensible people prepared for patient cooperation if the government shows that it means business and demonstrates a real sense of urgency. The first appointments to the new Cabinet made a good impression. Attlee is an unspectacular Premier, analogous to Campbell Bannerman in 1906, a quiet, dignified, admirable chairman of a team. Bevin is expected to renovate vigorously Foreign Office methods rather than to revolutionize a policy in which the keynotes of friendship for the United States and the U. S. S. R. are obviously constant. Morrison's position as general coordinator of the domestic policy is important.

To sum up, Britain has voted power to a party which has successfully forged an alliance between trade unions preoccupied with bread-and-butter issues, and middle-class Socialists pledged to substitute gradually the conscious organization of the community's well-being for the competitive scramble and restrictionist polity of monopoly capitalism.

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Background of Collaboration

BY CHARLES A. MICAUD

[Mr. Micaud, now an American citizen, is the author of "The French Right and Nazi Germany." He teaches French at West Point.]

VICHY and Montoire are the final links in a long chain of tragic events, Pétain and Laval products rather than causes. The French nation may find the condemnation of collaborationist leaders psychologically necessary, a gesture both revengeful and purifying, but it is not sufficient. The punishment of guilty individuals would even be dangerous if it were allowed to take the place of a purge of institutions and merely served to bolster a hopelessly out-dated social system.

For the real issue is social and political. Collaboration is only the logical outcome of appeasement, Sedan and Montoire only the results of Munich. And Munich itself?: a puerile reflex of social defense on the part of a frightened bourgeoisie, which put class interests above national interests and lost on both counts.

In twentieth-century France feudalism was not dead. Many still believed in the virtues of hierarchy, in the right of the élite—that aristocracy of birth and wealth—to govern, and the duty of the masses to obey. This Tory outlook would not have long survived the impact of the French revolution and of modern technology if the Whigs had not become Tories.

The bourgeoisie, which had made the great Revolution, began to look upon its own child with profound misgivings. After the proletarian uprisings of 1848 and 1871, and with the success of socialism at the turn of the century, these former liberals began to question the desirability of democratic procedure. The law of the majority was all right so long as it did not threaten their privileges; but if the majority wanted radical social changes, they would not hesitate to make a counter-revolution.

While in Great Britain the conservatives had the political wisdom to grant concessions at the opportune moment, the French bourgeois believed in holding the barricades as long as possible. The result was inevitable. The working class, convinced that the Republic was only a shield for the preservation of privilege, flocked to the banner of Marxism, thus fanning the fears of the bourgeois and increasing their reluctance to reach a working compromise.

The crisis came to a head in 1934 with the famous Paris riots of February 6. The *coup de force* did not succeed but it launched the semi-fascist leagues on their meteoric careers. While many *ligueurs* were convinced that they were fighting only for political salubrity, the Leftists refused to be taken in by their lofty slogans. They understood that the new collectivists of the Right were not genuine socialists, but saw in the regimentation of economy the means to an end: the maintenance of disguised privileges in a frozen, hierarchic society.

In answer to the threat, workers and petits bourgeois united, and the victory of the Popular Front postponed the showdown. But reaction was far from dead. Fear of communism was cleverly used to discredit the new government, sabotage the social reforms, and separate the petits bourgeois from the workers. The *Parti Social Français*—legal heir of the outlawed Croix de Feu—soon became one of the largest parties in France, while the *Parti Populaise Français*—Doriot's party—enrolled the most dynamic section of the Right. Only the Christian Democratic party resisted the authoritarian temptation. The field was ready for Pétain's "National Revolution."

In foreign policy the way was also made ready. The Rightists had always flattered themselves on being the only real patriots; they had consistently warned the pacifist Left that Germany could not be appeased, that "one does not mix fire and water." Yet in 1935, as the Left and more especially the extreme Left were becoming aware of the Nazi menace and urging firmness, many Rightists quite suddenly became converted to a policy of appeasement.

They successively backed Mussolini in his Ethiopian venture, Franco in Spain, even Hitler when he sent his legions into the Rhineland, and later at the time of the Anschluss and of Munich. For in their eyes the dictators were the protectors of "Western civilization" against "Soviet barbarism." A victory over them would also mean the triumph of the working classes in France and of the U. S. S. R. in Europe. And this victory had to be avoided at all costs, even at the cost of France's vassalage.

The red menace was Hitler's most successful political weapon. With the connivance of the Right he succeeded in preventing a Franco-Soviet military alliance, which alone could have saved Europe. The strategy of the reactionaries was simple: since Germany had to expand, let her expand in the Ukraine. She probably would be satisfied. If not, well, France had her own Maginot line.

Here lay the real meaning of the Munich agreement: France and Britain were implicitly giving Germany a free hand in Eastern Europe. The Right hailed it as a great victory, for Munich eliminated the bellicose extreme Left from the government of France and Soviet Russia from European affairs.

It was too late in the spring of 1939 to convince Moscow that London and Paris had changed heart. In August the pact of non-aggression with Germany was signed, opening the Western gates to the Nazi flood.

After the defeat most Rightists acclaimed Pétain as a savior, the only man with enough prestige to impose the counter-revolution they had been hoping for. While the greater number were cautiously "waiting to see," some even followed the National Socialists in demanding total collaboration with the victor. By contrast the forces of resistance, in France as elsewhere, were drawn for the most part from the working classes and the Leftist professional groups.

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The former internationalists proved to be the real patriots.

This conflict between national and class interests during the decade preceding this war often overshadowed the struggle for national existence. So it is apparent that the punishment of individuals, however guilty, is far from being a complete solution. France was brought to the edge of the abyss by political and social problems that the nation was unable—or unwilling—to face and solve. These problems remain, some even aggravated by the long strain of war. The penalty for failing to find a solution may be not only a violent revolution but a third world war.

Let us not imagine that the status quo ante is possible. The choice in Europe is no longer between liberalism and collectivism. For liberalism can thrive only on an accumulated stock of optimism, and the stock is too badly depleted. Even capitalists have turned against liberal economy to look for security in a regimented society.

The choice is between three kinds of collectivism: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or a dynamic form of social democracy: a fluid evolutionary society practicing the ideas both of political liberty and of economic equality. This implies an economy of abundance based on full production and optimum distribution: essentially a new equilibrium between bourgeoisie and proletariat, until higher living standards abolish the very concept of class.

This is of course the only valid and lasting solution, but perhaps not the easiest. America can play a part in helping social democracy to triumph, even if it be only the negative one of non-interference.

Fuel, Food, and Freedom

BY ALAN BARTH

[*Mr. Barth is an editorial writer for the Washington* Post.]

WAR has left the economy of Western Europe in a condition which perfectly illustrates the cliché, "a vicious circle." For example France, desperately in need of sugar for the nourishment of its people and with a large sugar-beet crop on hand, cannot process the beets because of an acute shortage of coal. And French coal cannot be mined because French miners are too undernourished to work in the pits. Therefore the sugar-beet crop is not harvested or is allowed partially to rot, and the miners, left undernourished, are rendered still less capable of producing coal.

This circular deficiency is no less vicious in respect to other commodities which depend upon coal for processing. And it is no less vicious in the other liberated countries of Western Europe. France, somewhat better off than most, is a prototype. For lack of coal, utilities cannot operate, mills cannot turn the available raw cotton into clothing, railroads cannot move acutely needed foodstuffs from rural areas to urban centers. A highly industrialized civilization, deprived of its motive power, has fallen into paralysis.

Coal, in this context, is quite as important to the achievement of peace as the United Nations Charter. For the indispensable basis of peace is employment and a decent living standard in a functioning society.

It has been said a number of times that the people of Western Europe are faring worse under "liberation" than they did under Nazi occupation. Taken literally, this is probably an overstatement. In some portions of the territory they conquered, the Netherlands in particular, the Germans looted so ruthlessly as to cause widespread starvation; some Dutch civilians subsisted on tulip bulbs and many were so emaciated, when found by our troops, that they were able to receive food only through intravenous injections.

Things are somewhat better now. As John Corson reported in *The Nation* of July 21, "During the six months following liberation the military authorities shipped in for civilians (in France) 262,150 tons of food, clothing, medical supplies, and petroleum. This volume represented *less than one-fifth* of the supplies estimated to be necessary 'to prevent disease and unrest.' And the need was greater than had been estimated." Still, death as a direct result of starvation will probably be rare.

But death as an indirect result of inadequate diet, inadequate clothing, inadequate home heating, is likely to be extremely prevalent in the course of the approaching winter. Infant mortality is already at a shocking level. And people who have been "liberated" tend to expect something more than a mere change from outright famine to malnutrition. The psychological consequences of their frustrated hopes can be very serious indeed. As the Germans discovered, these are not docile people. They have been accustomed to fighting underground and in guerrilla bands. If they cannot go to work and solve their problems by orderly means, they will seek to solve them through violence. And neither disease nor unrest can long be prevented under current conditions.

The root problem is to set a disrupted industrial machine once more in motion. And the key to this problem is coal. First, Western Europe must be supplied with enough coal from the outside to ward off the worst dangers and terrors of another winter and to prime the pump of its industry. Second, it must be supplied with the means to produce coal from its own mines so that the normal system of production and distribution can again operate.

There is only one way to meet the first of these needs, and that is by the shipment of coal from the United States. Britain, which customarily supplies some of Europe's coal, is now suffering from an acute shortage at home. Harold L. Ickes, in his capacity as Solid Fuels Administrator, outlined the situation vividly in a statement on July 20:

> In the light of reports received within the last few days on the desperate coal situation in Europe, I have come to the conclusion that, beginning at once, we should permit

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the shipment for civilian use in the devastated countries of approximately six million tons of American coal between now and January 1, 1946, if possible. The race in Europe today is one between coal and anarchy. Europe must have coal without loss of time if serious political and social upheavals are to be prevented. I do not think that it is going too far to say that a coal famine of such severity as to destroy nearly all semblance of law and order is certain to occur in certain countries in Northwest Europe next winter unless immediate and drastic action is taken now.

About 700,000 tons of the six million are already in transit. Mr. Ickes has made delivery of the balance conditional. It seems worth noting that the mimeographed OWI press release of his statement just quoted has the words "if possible" inserted by means of a caret at the end of the first sentence, as though they were an afterthought. And Mr. Ickes insists that coal can be produced for export only if the army will release at least 30,000 of the 130,000 miners who, he says, are now in uniform. This is a demand to which the army has already refused to accede, on the ground that it would disrupt the point system of discharge. Mr. Ickes, in turn, has threatened a direct appeal to President Truman, and has presented his case before the Mead committee in Congress. Since, at our present rate of production, we are sure to be faced with a coal deficit at home amounting to about 40 million tons, some constructive adjustment to the manpower shortage in the industry seems imperative. Perhaps miners in uniform can be furloughed if they cannot be discharged. At any rate, the delivery of coal to Europe is so vital an adjunct of our foreign policy and our real national interest that it must be accomplished even at the cost of some sacrifice here. It should be noted that the anticipated 40-million-ton deficit is in relation to a national production which, even by the most pessimistic estimates, will amount to 575 million tons in the current "coal year."

The six million tons constitute, in part at least, not a gift but a restitution. The British and American armies have been taking out of France alone, for instance, about 300,000 tons of coal a month. From September, 1944, through May, 1945, they withdrew a net amount of 1,200,000 tons of coal from French mines for the maintenance and movement of troops. And French production, normally about 60 million tons a year, today is at the rate of no more than 22 million tons.

This has left the French without even enough coal to operate their essential public utilities; last winter the electric lighting system in most French cities functioned no more than four hours a day—a condition scarcely contributory to law and order. It has left the French with little fuel for heating homes. Northern France is not a tropical region; the temperature last winter was often only a few degrees above zero. The most that can be hoped for from the six million tons to be sent from the United States is a partial restoration of these essential services plus some fuel for vital transportation.

The second urgent need for the solution of Europe's coal problem—supplying the means to produce coal from European mines—cannot possibly become effective, at best, before midwinter. The difficulty does not stem from war destruction. The mines of the Ruhr and the Saar in Germany have been only about 15 to 25 per cent damaged. The French, Belgian, and Dutch mines are in fairly good shape for the most part, although they are very much in need of mine props and mechanical equipment. Also they are in need of coal to produce coal—coal, that is, to provide power for the mine machinery.

But most of all, the coal mines of Europe are in need of miners who can do the job. Mining is tough work. It cannot be done on an empty stomach or on a stomach filled by a diet of low nutritional value. Dutch miners have been getting about 1,800 calories of food a day as compared with the 3,500 calories considered a requisite minimum for American miners; French miners have been getting only about 1,500 calories, and the Germans the same amount until their ration was recently stepped up to about 2,800.

Moreover, as our own John L. Lewis has so sententiously observed, you can't mine coal with bayonets. The mines of the Ruhr, the greatest source of coal in Western Europe, are currently producing just about 15 per cent of their normal output, the mines of the Saar only slightly better. This has been due in part, of course, to a manpower shortage. The mines were worked during the war by slave labor—mostly Poles and Czechs who wanted to go home. German prisoners of war are being released gradually to take their places in the pits, and something like the Ruhr's normal complement of about 350,000 miners are now back at work. But the output per man is scarcely one-third the normal amount.

Getting work out of these men is a difficult problem—especially in view of the fact that what they produce will be consumed by the armies of occupation or exported to the neighbors they ravaged. Perhaps it can be done, as has been suggested, by raising their rations and giving them opportunity to purchase such luxuries as soap, tobacco, and liquor with the money they earn. Perhaps it will have to be done by internationalizing the Ruhr and the Saar at once and bringing French, Belgian, and particularly Polish miners in to work under the International Coal Commission.

In a very real sense the course of history in Europe and the nature of the peace may be shaped by the production of coal in the Ruhr and its satellite, the Saar. Ten million tons of coal must be taken out of these areas for export to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway before January 1. An additional 15 million tons must be exported before the end of the "coal year," April 1, 1946. If this is done and if the mines of the liberated countries can be made to resume production, industry in Western Europe, Germany excepted, can get back on a functioning basis within another year. Without this coal, the economy of Western Europe will stay stagnant, and the civilization of Western Europe may collapse. The stake is nothing less than this.

In the meantime, certain stop-gap measures must be taken to prevent disintegration when the cold weather sets in. Even at the cost of still sharper shortages at home, we must permit the liberated countries, and UNRRA as well, to buy some of our scant food supplies. If we can ship enough wheat, the one crop the world has today in abundance, to take the liberated peoples off their bread ration, we shall give them an invaluable psychological lift. But it is of the very first importance that we grant them a share of our high-calorie foods—meats, dairy products, and sugar—to raise the dangerously low nutritional level of the diet on which they have been subsisting for so long.

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Food is useless without transportation to get it into the hands of the hungry. Railroads in the liberated countries have been pretty well repaired; but they lack, in addition to fuel, engines and freight cars. A British official in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs* estimates that in France "of 16,000 locomotives, only 6,000 were effective, of which a high proportion had been imported by the Allied armies. In 1939 they had 450,000 freight cars. As the war ended, all freight cars in France, Belgium, and liberated Holland were pooled; there were only some 200,000 of them and on these the military have a first claim. Before the war, there were some 500,000 motor trucks in France. Today, only some 125,000 are usable and most of them are more than ten years old."

The United States Army has agreed to turn over to the liberated countries some 16,000 American trucks. But the need is for ten times this number. We have in Europe something like 500,000 trucks and jeeps—about a third of which have never been used. Trucks can haul farm produce to market; jeeps can be turned into tractors to plow fields. They should be made available to civilians in the devastated areas in the greatest numbers possible. In addition, these people need fertilizers and farm implements so that they can begin —as soon the myriad German mines have been removed from their fields—to produce food in quantities adequate to their own requirements.

The task, to repeat, is to set a dislocated economy in working order. And this task is just as essential to our war aims as the defeat of an enemy in combat. There is no liberation in the replacement of tyranny by chaos. There is no peace where men are forced to claw at one another for mere existence and to live by jungle law.

Hunger and hopelessness are still the breeders of fascism. And it is these that must be extinguished in Europe if victory there is to be real. While they remain, it is sheer fatuity to consider the war in Europe ended. Wars are waged for the attainment of peace, and they are not won until peace has been genuinely established. The continued furnishing of fuel and food to our Allies is, therefore, not one whit less germane to the winning of the war than in the days of battle.

Men are free only when they have the means to govern their own destinies. In Europe, they must have fuel and food if they are to have freedom.

Rebuilding Our Cities

BY FRANK FISHER

[*Mr. Fisher is a New York economist who has made a special study of housing problems.*]

THE United Nations have begun to think about reconstruction. The Germans had hardly been driven from Russian soil before the rebuilding of Stalingrad and other devastated areas was undertaken. In England, at the height of the buzz-bomb blitz, Parliament found time for an extensive debate on the question of compensation for land to be taken over for reconstruction purposes. The smaller countries, too, are perfecting their plans. All the information we have indicates that they are designed to provide their inhabitants with few gadgets but all the necessities for healthful life which good planning can produce.

This country has escaped the more obvious destructive consequences of war. But the war has accentuated our long-standing housing shortage and accelerated the disintegration of many of our cities. We expect a tremendous building boom after the struggle is over. We count on it to help prevent mass unemployment when war production ends. But there is a distinct danger that our construction effort, because it is not properly controlled, will create as many new housing problems as it solves.

The problem, actually, is greater than just "housing." Our cities overflow into the adjoining countryside, and as they expand and disperse, metropolitan life becomes less and less efficient and enjoyable. Traffic control is a major headache everywhere; transportation to and from the job often costs a worker several hours a day. Most of our large cities suffer from overcrowded schools, lack of recreation space for children and adults, and insufficient hospital facilities. Even those few services which the cities have been able to provide have brought many of them to the verge of bankruptcy. There is hardly one without chronic deficits and high taxes.

And there is something more disturbing. The average inhabitant of New York, Chicago, or Wichita is indifferent to civic affairs. He knows little about the workings of his city government and cares less, although he occasionally grumbles about corrupt politicians. Apparently he is satisfied to leave his problems in the hands of a Hague or a Pendergast, who is swept out of office only when his misconduct becomes utterly scandalous. Meanwhile, living conditions deteriorate. Tension increases until frustration and resentment explode in riots, as they did in Detroit, Beaumont, Boston, and Los Angeles. Progressive mayors then appoint commissions to look into the causes of such regrettable events. Reports are filed in the proper pigeonholes, to be resurrected only when the next riot occurs.

The responsibility cannot be laid entirely with the civil officers. The problems are simply too big for them to handle. They are looking for quick, easy solutions, while the real solution requires long-term, large-scale planning. The need for it has been rather generally recognized in recent years. Many cities have set up planning commissions, some of which work very well. But, as *Fortune* pointed out in January, 1944, "hundreds of city plans have come to nothing" because they have not got at the "heart of the community's

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difficulties—namely, overcrowding and congestion in the interior and unguided sprawling in the outskirts."

The congestion of our cities is mainly the result of excessive land values, established by speculators and confirmed by city authorities who assessed taxes on this inflated basis. Streets built for horses and buggies are hopelessly inadequate for modern automobile traffic. Skyscrapers have made dark canyons of what were once pleasant city lanes. Although the old street layout is now plainly impracticable, the prohibitive costs of land acquisition have prevented most cities from making the necessary changes.

To escape high land costs and taxes, many factories have moved out of the cities into outskirts and suburbs. At the same time, the exodus of city dwellers is increasing. New York's factories are migrating to northern New Jersey; the people of New York City are moving to Westchester County, Connecticut, and Long Island. They are trying to escape the noise of industry, the smoke and the smells, and to find a spot where they can have sun, trees, fresh air, and a little privacy. Thus dormitory and factory suburbs develop into metropolitan districts. The new communities are built up with as little forethought as the central areas, and soon pleasant residential suburbs show the same signs of blight as the cities themselves. Invaded by factories and mushrooming slums, the suburbanites move again.

The cities are forced to pay the bill for these migrations. They must extend transportation and other municipal services to the outlying sections. Moreover, with the movement of population out of the central areas, the cities lose large amounts of taxable income. Census figures show the seriousness of this development. Between 1930 and 1940, the population in the outskirts of 140 metropolitan areas increased by 16.9 per cent, while the population of the central cities increased by only 6.1 per cent, and in some cases actually declined. In other words, suburban areas grew almost three times as rapidly as the central cities, and this applies not only to New York and Chicago but to most of the medium-size cities as well.

The first step in rebuilding our cities, then, is to control the development of the suburban areas. There are a few well-planned dormitory suburbs, such as Radburn, New Jersey, or the "greenbelt" towns, but in general the unplanned dispersion of the metropolitan regions continues unchecked. Public apathy is as much to blame as the selfishness of certain private interests. If the Westchester commuter does not object to spending two hours a day on a train, it is pretty difficult to do anything for him.

There is fairly general agreement on what the pattern of well-planned communities should be. Their nuclei should be neighborhoods comprising perhaps a thousand families. Arranged around a civic center, school, recreation area, and local shopping district, they should be self-contained units, separated from and connected with other areas by parks and parkways. Though some small industries could be located near a residential neighborhood, most of the industries should occupy separate districts, easily accessible from the residential neighborhoods. A number of units, grouped around a large community center, would form a town.

A master plan would outline general directions for a number of such towns within a metropolitan area. Such plans are not made with a ruler on a map, nor do they regulate the disposition of every square foot of land. But they should provide for an orderly development of all the communities, determining the type of business and industry to be located in each, as well as the approximate size, number, and location of dwellings. This would avoid the present hit-or-miss decentralization; it would prevent the further growth of unsightly, sprawling suburbs around Detroit or Los Angeles, or across the Hudson from New York.

Many obstacles must be overcome, of course, before such master plans can be drafted and executed. Among the major difficulties is the great number of administrative barriers that must be hurdled. Rehabilitation in the central cities presents greater difficulties. In most states, if not in all, cities can expropriate land under the right of eminent domain. Many cities, however, are poor and have debt limitations which make it impossible for them to bear the cost of purchasing land now covered by slums and blighted areas. There are two effective ways of solving this problem, and both should be used simultaneously. One is to deflate excessive land values by condemnation proceedings. Real-estate owners traditionally assume a constant increase in land prices, and even the financial disasters of the late twenties did not shake their convictions, which are also reflected in many court decisions. In order to obtain this land at realistic prices, we need legislation which will define its value not on the basis of speculative hopes but by anticipating the steady decline that is the inevitable result of continued decentralization. As this will hurt some members of a very vocal group, only intensive public pressure can get such laws passed.

Even if this is accomplished, financial help by the federal government is needed. Toward what more productive purpose can the taxpayers' money be utilized? Professor Alvin Hansen, in an article in the *Survey Graphic* of April, 1944, recommended the two following plans: the federal government can advance the money and be repaid out of the net returns which the cities will receive from leasing land to private development companies; or the cities can issue federally guaranteed bonds for this purpose, and city and federal authorities together can make additional annual grants to acquire land which is particularly expensive.

We cannot expect such projects to repay their cost within a short time. If this were required, most cities would buy only cheap land at their outskirts or would use cleared slum areas for housing projects with an undesirably high population density. Unfortunately, that is the way the matter is being handled now, on New York's crowded lower East Side, for instance. If our cities are to provide the proper environment for their inhabitants, the population density must be lower than it is now. Not all slum areas can be converted into housing projects; adequate provision must be made for parks and playgrounds. Contrary to widespread belief, the primary function of parks is not to increase the real-estate value of adjoining properties. A park is essential to the health of the city dweller. It gives him breathing space, room for his leisure activities, and opportunities for the wholesome development of his children.

We must therefore consider the cost of rebuilding our cities as a long-term investment, part of which will be repaid only indirectly by higher working efficiency, lower acci-

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dent rates, less disease and delinquency. City rebuilding costs, like expenditures for public hygiene and education, are permanent investments in our human resources.

Once the land has been acquired by the municipal authorities, there are several ways of putting it to use. It can be sold to individual builders in small units. That would probably bring quick regression to planlessness. Or the land can be leased, with the community retaining ownership. That would give the planners maximum control over the use of the land, but it would incur the risk of municipal graft and favoritism. Imagine Jersey City owning great portions of its land! Then there is a third and widely favored method whereby land would be sold in large units to private enterprise. That would bring a swift return on investment, but it might also impose the will of private monopolies upon the community. Stuyvesant Town in New York City, a project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, is a recent example. It suffers from high density of population, it has no civic center, no school, no adequate recreation facilities, and racial discrimination is practiced.

Finally, the land can be leased or sold to cooperatives, a method which Sweden has tried very successfully. This method can achieve more orderly and less expensive development of the land than the sale of small parcels to individuals. And certainly the influence of cooperatives would be far more beneficial than that of private monopolies.

Whatever method is adopted, its successful execution depends upon one condition: the active interest of every citizen in the subject of city planning and in what his municipal government is doing about it. Let experts solve the technical problems, but let each citizen know that his tax money is being spent not on preserving old-fashioned, inefficient, costly systems of streets, houses, and services, but on rebuilding a city to serve his own best interests.

Recently, Syracuse, New York, proved that after proper preparation by newspapers and civic organizations, a large number of citizens could become interested enough in city planning to pay extra taxes for it. There is no reason why such experiments cannot be tried elsewhere. Particularly encouraging is the interest that some labor unions are showing. The United Automobile Workers' union has initiated a campaign to promote membership interest in housing and city planning, and other unions may follow.

This civic interest must be supplemented by government help. Pre-war Holland achieved good results with a law which required all cities and towns above a certain size to prepare detailed but flexible plans for their further development, to be revised every ten years. We need such legislation in America. We also need a federal agency to supervise and coordinate all local planning. Only the defunct National Resources Planning Board was equipped to handle such matters; the existing agencies are concerned only with public housing or various financial and insurance functions. In a recent speech in Chicago, President R. J. Thomas of the U. A. W. suggested the creation of a federal Department of Housing and Community Development, to play a role in this field corresponding to that of the Department of Agriculture in food production and farm work. This proposal deserves full support: if it is carried out, we shall have taken the first step toward rebuilding our cities.

In the Wind

THE CHIMES, an ice-cream parlor in Seattle, leads off its menu with a 35-cent item: "Victory Sundae—Three scoops (1 Choc., 1 Van., 1 Straw.) topped with Chimes Special Mocha Syrup, banana slices, and peanuts, garnished with a maraschino cherry." Other dishes of equally appetizing composition are named The Paratrooper, Devil Dogs Delight, Tank Corps Treat, and Sailor Boy.

JOHN W. SCOVILLE, economist of the Chrysler Corporation, in a pamphlet entitled "Collective Bargaining," offers this plan for "a more abundant life and greater justice": "(1) All federal labor laws should be repealed; (2) there should be no state laws on wage rates or hours; (3) collective bargaining and all other monopolistic practices should be made illegal by state laws."

CHARLES OF THE RITZ is one of the swankiest of hair dressers, but the employees of his B. Altman branch in New York have recently joined the Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union, C. I. O.

THE GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY of New York devotes the leading article in the current issue of its monthly bulletin, the *Guaranty Survey,* to the full-employment bill. "Perhaps the most dangerous feature of the proposal," it says, "is its assumption of the government's responsibility to guarantee employment. . . . Supporters of the full-employment plan are correct in stating that private business cannot provide such a guarantee. . . . The conclusion seems inescapable that full employment cannot be guaranteed in a free society."

RAOUL E. DESVERNINE, attorney and former president of the Crucible Steel Company, put it less suavely on the radio forum program, Wake Up, America, July 22. "The term full employment," he said, "was coined as a demagogic vote-catcher, used in many beguiling senses, and it is therefore difficult to know in what sense it is being used at any given time. It cannot mean anything as un-American as the employment of everyone able and willing to work. This would be reaction at its worst and a big step backward for America."

LLOYD T. BINFORD, chairman of the Memphis Board of Censors, who banned the showing of the movie "Brewster's Millions" in his city a few months ago because it showed Negroes in dignified roles, has now banned "The Southerner" because it portrays Southerners as "ignorant, low-down white trash." Mr. Binford said, "No Negro in the Arkansas swamps ever lived in such a house as the one shown in 'The Southerner.'" An Atlanta spokesman for David Loew, the producer, replied, "Perhaps not, but Mr. Binford could find several behind the state capitol in Atlanta."

HEARSTIANA, by Jack Lait, in the New York *Daily Mirror* of August 1: "As a reward [for scooping the world on the death of John Dillinger in 1934] I was sent to Geneva to cover the League of Nations."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Little Places

Such power in little places:
The petal weight a coil of jelly moves,
And snails have conquered beaches.
The worm, with neither horn nor bone,
Plows acres.

Prometheus down a cold crack:
Rainstreams freezing, and the granite
Splits; as smoke of sister water
Pushes the long piston; and a copper
Hair holds worlds.

The Yes all year awaited:
Thinnest word, and yet it peoples spring
With mighty houses, lived in; No,
Enormous night; as when the bud bursts
Or does not.

Such power; with plants depending,
Thunder, and small men, and now the spark
Whereby a town is merry.
The end, that neither feels nor sees,
Thanks nothing.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Flemish Masters

THE LAST FLOWERING OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By Joseph van der Elst. Doubleday, Doran. $7.50.

THE easel picture was prefigured in manuscript illustration and in the panels of the altarpiece. The cathedrals north of the Alps, with their skeletal structures and great windows, could not accommodate murals, only isolated pictures or sets of pictures in ornate frames. The magnates and clerical bureaucrats of Flanders found in the framed picture a proper means by which to celebrate themselves publicly in their character as individuals, for the framed picture spoke for itself and was not to be subordinated to its architectural surroundings in the role of mere decoration.

The presence of a tradition of book illumination developed in the courts of France and Burgundy also conditioned Flemish painting. By this, as well as by the general influence of Gothic style, the Flemish picture was determined as a matter more of detail and compression than of broad spatial design. The picture was arrived at by the exclusion rather than the organization of space, and aimed at retaining and fixing attention instead of catching it in flight as Italian painting did. The latter remained closer to the mural and accomplished the transition to the three-dimensional much more slowly—given that this transition began with Giotto. Derived so intimately from missal art—and to some extent, in my opinion, from the very naturalistic late medieval sculpture—the painting of Flanders in the fifteenth century remains late Gothic in its crowded, angular design, its profusion of anecdotal and other detail, and its ornamental emphasis, reminiscent of metal work.

Paying relatively scant heed to rhythm and unifying design, the Flemish painter distributed his accents with little modulation over the entire surface of his picture. This would have been fitting enough had the painter kept his handling somewhat flat, but having just discovered the ways of rendering depth and mass, he insisted on modeling all volumes boldly and with almost equal prominence. Thus the effect was one of turgidity. It was a mode more appropriate to the illustration of books than to pictures to be seen at a distance, and it constitutes a defect of the Flemish style which all its excellences cannot make us overlook.

This stricture does not apply, however, to the portraits executed by these same painters, which through clarity of design and coolness of handling acquire a monumentality their larger and more strident religious-anecdotal pictures generally lack. The psychological naturalism and impersonal intimacy of these portraits put them on a level that in some respects no later work has approached (except Goya's portraits). Here the Flemings were at their most modern—and only by anticipating the modern did they produce their greatest work.

Straddled between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, between the aristocratic court and the bourgeois town, Flemish naturalism underwent a premature development—chiefly at the hands of Jan van Eyck, who, the first and greatest genius of all the Flemish painters, managed best at the same time to redeem this prematurity. (Van Eyck was once credited with having invented painting in oil, but it seems that he only developed it to a new point). Van Eyck transferred to the wooden panel and expanded with amazing suddenness the naturalism that Franco-Flemish manuscript illustration had incubated, and he posed and nearly succeeded in solving problems that almost none of his successors were equal to. How order the rich variety of visual phenomena the artist was cast upon once he abandoned the prescriptions of the church? How discipline the peculiarly Flemish appetite for the texture and grain of objects? It remains one of the charms and yet one of the shortcomings of van Eyck's art that it ovrpowers by a wealth of minutiae thrown into lapidarian relief. But toward the end of his career he seems to have discovered atmosphere as a selective agent that, in the absence of iconographical prescriptions, decided what was to be emphasized and what subordinated. Van Eyck, however, was too far in advance of his times, and of his lineal successors only Hugo van der Goes retrieved anything of the uses of atmosphere. Memling, thirty years after van Eyck, faced with the still unsolved problem of organizing the anecdotal picture, made a great if sudden retreat to the principles of book illustration in designing the pictures for the famous St. Ursula shrine in Bruges.

Only when the center of Lowlands trade shifted from

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the comparatively provincial Bruges, Louvain, Ghent, to the world port of Antwerp did Flemish painting begin to lose its peculiarly gawky character—that blending of regional Gothic with naive naturalism and brilliant physical finish. Quentin Massys is still a Fleming but one softened by cosmopolitanism. Jerome Bosch is still Gothic, but worldly Gothic, and some of his plastic means show a modernity out of all relation to the painting then around him. Bruegel, his continuator, was even farther ahead of his times than van Eyck had been; he combined a summary and far from naive naturalism with a painterly sense of the decorative and two-dimensional in a way only to be approached again by Courbet three hundred years later. (Courbet, like Bosch and Bruegel, was a peasant by origin and, also like them, hostile to the ways of the high bourgeoisie. Never elsewhere did the petty bourgeoisie express themselves in as great and as enlightened a way as in the art of these three.)

Baron van der Elst's "The Last Flowering of the Middle Ages," attempting to evoke the milieu in which they lived, describes, explains, and evaluates the work of the principal Flemish masters of the fifteenth century, including Bosch and Bruegel. Despite the fact that it very often hovers on the edge of banality, the book provides as good an introduction to its subject as I know of in English, and it does succeed in bodying forth some of the reality of the things it treats. In addition, it is well illustrated.

As Meyer Schapiro pointed out in his review of the book in *View*, the Baron gives too idyllic a picture of the fifteenth century in Flanders. (I would recommend Jan Huizinga's "The Waning of the Middle Ages" as an indispensable corrective.) There was something over-ripe and slightly vicious about the period, of which the noble author gives little hint. And yet the art he considers provides unmistakable evidence. A certain malaise is to be detected in van der Weyden, under and above the intense emotionalism that is restrained by the lingering decorum of Gothic gesture. That marvelous painter van der Goes was a psychotic who suffered from delusions of guilt. Van Eyck, for his part, gained his insight as a portraitist from a rather profane detachment. Commissioned chiefly by cosmopolitan courts, he expressed a worldliness that the high bourgeoisie upon whose patronage his successors were dependent were not yet ready to accept. Yet they were on their way to it, and the closer they came, the more their painters had to force religious feeling. It is this forcing that tells. And the need to do so also tells. The worldliness did not come easy, and the fifteenth-century crisis in Catholic belief was also a crisis of premature skepticism—for the middle classes had not the psychological resources to come to terms with the skepticism generated in aristocratic and intellectual circles.

There is still another aspect to the historical ambiguity of Flemish painting. The painters of Flanders, like all other trades of the time, were organized in guilds whose members constituted a sort of petty bourgeoisie. The guilds were hostile to the developing capitalism, and this made their mood, in a historical sense, reactionary. At the same time the control they exercised over their members tended to discourage innovation or experiment. In so far as painting was an intellectual pursuit—which it always is in part—it went in advance of the times; but in so far as it was a guild trade, it hung back. As rapid as seems the progress of Flemish painting in the fifteenth century, one has only to compare it with what was going on in Italy at the same time to see that it actually did little more than fill in the outlines already sketched by van Eyck. Again and again during its course it suddenly faces about toward the past as it comes up against the problems of naturalism that van Eyck failed to solve. And it only leaps forward once more with Bosch and Bruegel at a time when the great commercial expansion signalized by the ascendancy of Antwerp was giving the guild system—and with it the "primitive" tradition of Flemish painting—its quietus.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Cycles of Capitalism

"THE BOGEY OF ECONOMIC MATURITY" by George Terborgh (Machinery and Allied Products Institute, $3) is the most thorough and devastating critique yet to appear of the popular belief that "economic maturity" is primarily responsible for capitalist depression and stagnation. The book will have wide repercussions. It may be soberly and profitably used by technical economists; it will certainly be roughly abused by many radicals and liberals, and gleefully misused by conservative apologists for unmolested private enterprise. Therefore in the controversy that is sure to flare up over the book it will be imperative to distinguish carefully between what the author does and does not prove.

Mr. Terborgh shows, I think, that many if not most of the formulations of the doctrine that the peace-time American economy is stagnating because it suffers from economic maturity will not stand the test of historical and statistical analysis. Ratios of national investment to national saving, consumption, and income do not seem to be significantly different in the twentieth century, when our economy is supposed to have come of age, than in the nineteenth, when it was vigorously adolescent. There is thus no *long-term* trend toward *relative* over-saving and under-investment. From this point of view, the economic collapse of 1929 was just the start of another business cycle, not fundamentally different from the many others which unregulated private capitalism has suffered and survived since the Industrial Revolution. In short, while the capitalist mechanism does work faultily, and while the nation and the economy are admittedly getting older, the latter condition is not the basic cause of the former.

What Mr. Terborgh fails to show is the incorrectness of a theory of economic maturity expressed in absolute rather than relative terms. In this context, it is not the *ratio* of investment to income that is important, but its *absolute* quantity. Despite Terborgh's findings, it is still true that the absolute volume of private investment which a technologically developed capitalist economy is capable of producing is normally not enough to achieve and maintain high-level employment. Such an economy needs extra stimulation, regardless of the ratio of national investment to national income. The reason why that ratio remains surprisingly constant is simply that when total investment goes up or down, total income moves correspondingly.

This book should have a salutary effect on the economic

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and political thinking of liberals. For it is not enough merely to advocate the right action. One should also do so for the correct reason. Particularly in the immediate post-war period, business prosperity resulting from a vigorous replenishment boom may make advocates of economic maturity look a little foolish. More than ever, it will then be necessary to recognize that economic intervention and compensatory fiscal action by the government are necessary, not primarily because our economy is mature, but because, young or old, unregulated capitalism suffers from a drastic cyclical instability which no civilized state will tolerate when the means to correct it are available.

LEO BARNES

Plain Talk

IN "RIOTS AND RUINS" by A. Clayton Powell, Sr. (Richard R. Smith, $2), one will find a good document on the changing attitude of the Negro toward his status in American life. Mr. Powell, formerly pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, has lived long and has had contacts with the masses of Negroes as well as with their leaders both in the North and in the South. Although he belongs among the older Negro leadership and writes somewhat in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, he does not accept "segregation with equal opportunities" as a solution of the race problem. In his homely philosophy, which reveals an acquaintance with recent literature on race relations, he criticizes Negroes for their inefficiency and thriftlessness as well as castigating whites for their inhumanity and hypocrisy. His discussion of the race problem is based upon his interpretation of the riot in Harlem in 1943 and to a lesser extent on the riot in Detroit. These outbreaks are interpreted as evidences of the resentment of Negroes against the accumulated grievances which they have suffered over the years in America. Mr. Powell utilizes many of his personal experiences to impress upon the reader the meaning of discrimination to the Negro. In the recital of these experiences, the author frankly admits his anger and hatred and does not use his sacred calling as a hypocritical camouflage for real feelings. The tone of the book is indicated in the following significant sentences: "The Negro used to be the most lovable, forgivable being in America, but the white man's prejudice, hatred, and lies have changed the Negro's psychology. He is just as full of hell, hatred, and lies as the white man."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Lesson in History

IN "Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal" (Macmillan, $3.50) Thomas A. Bailey reworks that bit of Americana about Wilson in the isolationist toils. Although the theme is familiar, Bailey contributes a unique twist to the dramatis personae. Following the pattern of his earlier "Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace," he lengthens, without malice, his indictment of Wilson and without seeming to want to do so throws in a good word about the arch-villain, Lodge.

Bailey's analysis will displease Wilson enthusiasts nourished upon the reverent biographies of Baker, Dodd, and more recently Bell. Some of his conclusions they will not be able to deny, but there are others to which they might

Farrar & Rinehart

▶ Who are the Japanese?
▶ What do they think, believe?
▶ Are they capable of democracy?

THE Japanese Nation

By JOHN F. EMBREE

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well take exception. Perhaps Wilson has been too much admired for those traits which made his course all the more difficult—his unwillingness to compromise, especially when a moral issue was involved, and his stubborn clinging to principle in the face of a reality that demanded more moderate tactics. Bailey, however, seems to have overemphasized their role in bringing about the League's defeat.

His cogent arguments cannot be summarily dismissed, and his reputation as a student of foreign policy in relation to domestic issues will lead the scholarly journals to embark on lengthy debates. Bailey will be accused of placing too much faith in the good intentions of Lodge and of crediting him with too much independence from the Senate irreconcilables who were opposed to a League, reservations or not; of underestimating the strategic significance of reservations imposed upon the treaty as an isolationist tactic to draw Wilson in; of being too harsh with Wilson on many occasions throughout the volume. There can be no doubt that Bailey's reasoning from hindsight takes unfair advantage of Wilson. In its striving for point and its anxiety to assess blame, this is less a history than a lesson in history—lest "we have to do the ghastly job a third time." EDWARD N. SAVETH

VERSE CHRONICLE

THE POETRY OF FREEDOM," edited by William Rose Benét and Norman Cousins (Random House, $3), is a big anthology of political and patriotic verse, a really global affair, covering the ground from ancient India to defunct Montenegro and quoting all the great spirits from Demosthenes to Robert Nathan. Never mind if the editors are a little undiscriminating as to poetic quality, or if the idea of freedom which governed their choices was so broad as to constitute a truism and you might as well be reading verse that celebrated the pleasures of breathing.

"The War Poets," edited with an introduction by Oscar Williams and containing, in addition to the verse, a number of statements on poetry and war by various poets, is a more inviting specimen of the topical anthology (John Day, $5). Instead of including the heroic war verse of past centuries, it sensibly confines itself to modern poets, for most of whom, as Mark Van Doren observes in his statement, war is simply calamitous. Growing out of the terrors of one conflict and then obliged to endure another, the present attitude has produced a poetry nearly always exasperated, sometimes indignant, seldom really resigned. Modern individuality is slow to give up its life and will shrink to a mere eye, looking hard but not expressing much of anything, rather than accept complete annihilation. From Wilfred Owen to Karl Shapiro the war poets remain craftsmen and observers, even when, as sometimes happens, they are unable to be much else. They proscribe generalities; they cultivate a technique of revelatory details and moments that tell their own story; what they write is often so personal as to be simply a versified diary. It is a species of war poetry in which the heroism and the poetry are in despite of the war.

Among English poets of a few generations back—the so-called Georgians—the influence of William Blake was very strong. It led to a great deal of pretty talking to animals—so much of it, indeed, that subsequent poets have mostly revered Blake from a distance. Richard Eberhart is one of the few contemporaries whose secular mysticism and casual style, as of children making angels in the snow, owe a great deal to Blake. Eberhart has not always succeeded in relating this influence to ourselves; but the small body of work in "Poems New and Selected" (New Directions, $1) is in part more substantial. The ambitious dialogue Triptych suffers from Eberhart's incapacity to imagine human situations, but there are several first-rate lyrics inspired by his experiences in the war. Blake's power of being at once didactic and lyrical is increasingly Eberhart's own possession; and out of war and metaphysics, visions and hard facts, he now makes a curious and very personal music.

> And long were days and tall were tremble-trees,
> The symbol of the self lost in a haze.
> And errors of sentience, O senses sweet! sour! sweet!
> That raveled out your substance quizzically . . .

Not many poets today would call a messenger boy a "blue-capped functioner of doom," as John Crowe Ransom does in one piece in his "Selected Poems" (Knopf, $2). And such a phrase may serve as an artifact in helping to assign him to a particular stage of literary culture. In Ransom's case a little archeology may really be needed, since he stopped publishing books of verse in 1927 and has in recent times become much more the critic and editor. In any case, the "blue-capped functioner of doom" clearly belongs to a stage of poetry earlier than Auden, earlier even than the dominant period of Eliot and Pound. It is characteristic, perhaps, of what Cyril Connolly has called the mandarin style—Cabell, Hergesheimer, Elinor Wylie, and Wallace Stevens being a few American examples of it. Unlike as the mandarins were in other respects, some of them good writers and others very bad, they all tried to combat the middle-class world by being superior to it. Elegance, artifice, a disposition to smile at the misplaced ardors and perverse ignorance of people who refused to live and love, in short a habit of making sophisticated irony out of modern life—all this entered into the styles and attitudes of such writers. Ransom does it all magnificently. Most of his poems are brief dramatic narratives about people: the woman whose devotion to flowers ruins her summer, the girl whose dedication to principle robs her of her lover, the crusading male who loses item after item of his anatomy in endless futile encounters with scamps and worldlings. Ransom's erotic strain is one of his great assets; since from his point of view the life of passion is particularly rich in folly. The well-known Piazza Piece, concerning the "gentleman in a dust-coat trying" and the "lady young in beauty waiting," is both a funny and a terrifying expression of the irony of hopeless passion.

> But what gray man among the vines is this
> Whose words are dry and faint as in a dream?
> Back from my trellis, Sir, before I scream!

Indeed Ransom's poetry ought to be studied entire by those who know him only through an occasional anthology piece. It is true that his mandarinism is not as complicated as that of, say, Henry James, and is apt at times to look a little

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fixed and glassy, particularly amid the *mea culpa* cries, the confessions of universal guilt, of contemporary writers. But he is certainly a master of the attitude, whatever its limitations. Whereas Cabell and Hergesheimer are all plush and bric-à-brac, Ransom achieves elegance by means of a few fine objects together with some cleverly placed mirrors. Hardly any other poet has so delicately exploited the humor latent in the feminine rhyme.

F. W. DUPEE

FICTION IN REVIEW

ALTHOUGH none of the novels that have appeared in recent weeks invites extended comment, here are brief notations on some of the books about which you may have developed a certain curiosity.

"Farewell My Heart" by Ferenc Molnar (Simon and Schuster, $2.50): The celebrated writer of sophisticated comedy makes obeisance to the seriousness of the times in the rather grim tale of a fifty-two-year-old man brought to his death by the love of a young girl. The lovers are refugees and Mr. Molnar sprinkles their story with topical references to dead soldiers, the Maginot line, and kindred world sorrows. None of which enriches either the emotional or social texture of Mr. Molnar's book but, instead, appears as something of an offense against taste. One can hope Mr. Molnar will soon see his way clear to resuming his charming fiddling. An excellent job of translation from the German by Elinor Rice.

"The Trojan Brothers" by Pamela Hansford Johnson (Macmillan, $2.50): Also a story of the sad outcome of unwise love, this time the scene England in the twenties; the ill-starred pair, a music-hall performer (the forequarters of a talking horse) and a gilded lady of the better classes who turns out to be his cousin. Genuinely entertaining, at least before it enters the realm of tragic consequences, Miss Johnson's novel is another example of the crisp wit and easy literacy which are so commonly at the disposal of the English light novelists.

"The Wayfarers" by Dan Wickenden (Morrow, $2.75): A modest, hard-working record of family life in a small mid-Western city in which a middle-aged newspaperman pulls himself out of the long doldrums following his wife's death to discover, first, that his four children also have lives and problems, and second, that there is now little he can do to help them. More intelligent than most homely novels, "The Wayfarers" is also a refreshment after the pretentiousness of most fiction that claims our literary interest.

"Lili Marlene" by Ruth L. Yorck (Readers' Press, $2.50): An account, in diary form, of one German woman's slow awakening to the true meaning of Nazism, a conscientious attempt to cope with the perplexing riddle of the relation of the decent German individual to the indecent social order. Credible and even suggestive up to the point where Miss Yorck's protagonist becomes an active worker in the underground; lapsing, from there out, into familiar melodrama.

"The Happy Time" by Robert Fontaine (Simon & Schuster, $2.50): The initial offering of a new publishing institution, the Venture Press, which, as its name and parents proclaim, is dedicated to the new and untried in literature. But what

The NATION says: "Stalinist!"

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By *HARRY SLOCHOWER*

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New York Times (Francis Hackett) says: "Anybody who wishes to think hard should possess himself of Dr. Harry Slochower's book . . . His worst critic must admit it is brain fodder, definite in philosophy, organized in argument and, within the limits it proposes, *a weighty piece of work.*"

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Chicago Daily News says: "The artist in criticism, the creator through the critical power, with this epic work . . . Slochower has established himself as the *most truly profound critic in America.*"

Saturday Review of Literature (Joseph Freeman) says: "*Learned, solid, wide in scope, intense in analysis, often wise, always ethical,* it is the first wartime attempt—and a very stimulating one—to understand contemporary chaos and chart emerging roads to the organic, creative possibilities ahead."

Chicago Tribune (Edward Wagenknecht) says: "This is Harry Slochower's most important book . . . he has provided *an exciting survey of contemporary thought.*"

PM (Alfred Kreymborg) says: "Slochower's valiant book . . . *has all the fascination of a philosophic adventure story* . . . It deserves to be read for its healthy attitude as well as for its wealth of inspiration."

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is new or untried or, for that matter, literature about Mr. Fontaine's innocuous reminiscences of a Canadian boyhood, it would be hard to say. There being nothing more sure-fire these days than making gay with one's family eccentricities, the first publication of the new Simon and Schuster press scarcely insures the promised hearing for the worthy and experimental. So far, nothing venture, everything win.

"The World, the Flesh and Father Smith" by Bruce Marshall (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50): The author of "Father Malachy's Miracle" in another educated and gracious demonstration of the charms of the Catholic religion. The way of Father Smith, in Protestant Scotland and through four decades of this century, is distinctly of a more traditional order than the way of "Father" Bing Crosby, but Mr Marshall's witty pen can quicken the appeal of even a Church of sacraments and doctrine. Can be recommended as superior entertainment even for heretics. DIANA TRILLING

CORRECTION: Because of the inadvertent omission of a line, one sentence in the essay, Our Culture and Its Critics by Eric Russell Bentley in *The Nation* of July 28, read, unfortunately, as follows:

Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents "the promise of America"?

It should have read as follows:

Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents only a false "aesthetic redemption" while a Steinbeck represents "the promise of America"?

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Films

JAMES AGEE

I SEE no reason why any of the following films should be reviewed at length. "Anchors Aweigh," a musical about two sailors, a girl, and José Iturbi, is thoroughly happy-spirited and enjoyable; but once I have paid my particular respects to Gene Kelly, who dances and acts excellently, and to Frank Sinatra, a singer, I might as well move on. The March of Time's issue about teen-age girls is worth seeing in the sense that one might examine with interest a slide of cancer tissue. These girls may be no worse than the teen-age girls of any other country, class, or generation, but I would be sorry really to believe that, and am sorrier still to imagine their children.

Another powerful horror short, "The Fleet That Came to Stay," is a record of Kamikaze, cut for thrills, but productive rather of dread, pity, and awe in any imaginative spectator. (I felt uneasy, by the way, not to say disgusted, when the narrator dismissed the Japanese fliers as "the men who want to die.") "Captain Eddie" combines some unpersuasive suffering aboard the Rickenbacker raft with extensive flashbacks to Rickenbacker's youth. These contain some pretty uses of detail and evocations of atmosphere, but the picture is at its mild best in its obsession with the comedy of pre-Pershing popular tunes, dance steps, and ground and flying machines.

The heroine of "Incendiary Blonde" bears the name of Texas Guinan, and at least once she shouts an obligatory "Hello, Sucker." From then on out the picture successfully ignores every one of the thousands of fine possibilities offered by its nominal subject, in favor of entirely conventional noise and music. Betty Hutton just about saves it, but no more, for those who like her, and I do. "Jealousy," a Republic picture, was made by Gustav Machaty, who made "Ecstasy." The story is of domestic misery, involving a disintegrated refugee, and developing into murder melodrama. It is intelligently cast, and well played by Nils Esther, the extremely attractive Karen Morley, a fine, warm-hearted actor named Hugo Haas, John Loder, and Jane Randolph. The music is by Hans Eisler. I doubt that "Jealousy" will have any great success, either critical or commercial; but it is a sympathetic film, and in spite of its over-all failure, contains enough sincerity and enough artistry to make most of the other films mentioned here look sick.

I must catch up, too, on some more of the older films I have failed to review.

"A Medal for Benny," after a rather mawkish start, turns into a broad but furious and well-filmed piece of invective against the attempt of some small-town boosters to exploit the death of a proletarian war hero. There is a first-rate performance by J. Carroll Naish. "Wonder Man" has little good in it beyond Danny Kaye—who, however, is almost continuously on screen. At his best Kaye suggests that he might be a much better comedian than he has yet become; at his loudest and blurriest he suggests that he may never become that good; but even at worst he is more than good enough. "Conflict," another domestic murder piece (Humphrey Bogart and Rose Hobart), is quite well done, but its story is so fancy that it becomes tiresome. "Those Endearing Young Charms," the story of a habitual seducer and his Waterloo, is well played by Robert Young and Laraine Day, well directed by Lewis Allen, and not quite interesting enough to be worth the time it takes. "Where Do We Go From Here?", a fantasy in which Fred MacMurray strolls through American history to music by Kurt Weill and lyrics by Ira Gershwin, is nine parts heavy facetiousness to one part very good fun. "That's the Spirit," a fantasy in which Jack Oakie, a ghost, leaves heaven to watch over his daughter Peggy Ryan, is clumsy but mildly enjoyable. I will not bother to speak of "The Singing Fool" or the latest Annette Kellerman waterwing, on the assumption that they are no longer in circulation.

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ROBERT V. SELIGER, M.D.
Assistant Visiting Psychiatrist
JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL
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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A READER who says he got interested in jazz through me has written me about the subject as he has come to see it. The term "jazz," he contends, is properly applied only to the original type of ensemble performance by the three melodic instruments "playing independently conceived variations on the theme and the rhythm rather than harmonic 'parts,' " and *not* playing as soloists. In "what appear to be interludes of solo" one intrument—while the others of the polyphonic ensemble rest—"carries on what is actually an integral part of the ensemble expression rather than a true solo. . . . When a number becomes a succession of solos with interludes of ensemble rather than continuous ensemble it is no longer jazz, and while it may or may not be good music it has taken the first step toward the complete degradation we hear in most of our popular music." For my reader claims that when the emphasis shifts from ensemble to solos the performance presently becomes a series of exhibitionistic solos by one musician after another during which "the others provide harmonic or merely 'riff' backgrounds. From there it is but a very short step to Goodman, Basie, and 'swing.' "

Thus, in my reader's opinion, even the good performances that emphasize solos rather than ensemble—those of the Louis Armstrong Hot Five and Seven, or the "Wild Man Blues" of the Johnny Dodds Blackbottom Stompers—are not really jazz. "And they are the first step toward the later Armstrong performances on Decca, and those performances whose only redeeming feature is a sensitive and imaginative solo by Buck Clayton, Teddy Wilson, or Bix. And from there it is only another short step to Glenn Miller." Things like "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble," moreover, are merely good per-

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OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

formances by "the jazz imitators like Beiderbecke, Teschmaker, and Spanier."

I recently objected to what my reader has done—to the defining of jazz by one type of performance that excludes any deviation from it, and that causes him to regard even the Armstrong Hot Fives or the Dodds "Wild Man Blues" as not really jazz, and the Chicago performances as only good imitations; and I don't agree that there is the difference he says there is between the solos in his real jazz and the ones in these other performances. And I disapprove of his "only-a-step" argument. If the Dodds "Wild Man Blues" or the Chicagoans' "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" is good, it does not become less good because something bad has followed from it: only the bad thing that followed is bad; and of course his argument also leaves out of consideration the good things that have continued to follow. My reader's letter has made me feel more strongly about the preoccupation with developments and tendencies: it is the individual work of art that is important and that is good or bad, not by its relation to developments and tendencies, but by its own particular qualities as a work of art.

As it happens, another reader, beginning with approval of my attack on the preoccupation with developments and tendencies, has written to point out that a composer's music does have a relation to other music, and to ask whether complete understanding of his music does not therefore require knowledge of that relation. This is an instance of how, beginning with truth, one may end up with error. It is true that the pictorial elements which appear on a Cézanne canvas have relations to the work of other painters, to their ideas, to general intellectual currents, to social conditions; it is not true—though the musicologists contend it is—that one must know these relations in order to understand the Cézanne painting. That understanding consists in experiencing the effect, the impact, of the pictorial elements as they are placed and related on the canvas, and of nothing else; the related things outside the canvas enter into this experience only insofar as they are "digested" in what is on the canvas—to borrow a term from Tovey, who remarks that "what the finished [work of art] cannot digest must be ignored or regarded outside it." To know the relations of the work of art to the things outside it is to understand not the work of art but certain facts in the history of art and general culture. And this distinction is abundantly illustrated by the musicologists who, as I have pointed out, reveal knowledge of everything about a piece of music, but no insight into the piece itself as an artistic communication; and on the other hand by the people who do have this insight, without any knowledge about the music. But the public's mind has been so poisoned that a reader who wrote me recently about his "pleasure and little insight into great works of genius" found it necessary to confess that he wrote as "a mere listener" who had gained this insight only "by ear." That is why I keep hammering away on the point.

Merely to listen, and in this way to gain pleasurable insight into Mozart's music—that is considered so inadequate as to require apology. For complete understanding one must read something like the review of Einstein's "Mozart" in *Kenyon Review*—a full-dress musicological demonstration that Mozart as a composer was "one of the most prominent exponents of the revolutionary second half of the eighteenth century." This is achieved by the following steps: (1) the period was that of the revolt of the middle class; (2) the object of the revolt was not only equality but even superiority; (3) "the middle class tried to accomplish this by sublimation of human nature . . . through the cultivation of the three functions of man: intellect (it was the period of Enlightenment), will (it was the period of the English autonomic moral philosophy, and of the moralization of the arts and literature), and feeling (it was the period of sentimentality)"; (4) Mozart was sentimental—by the evidence of a description in a letter of his weepy behavior under the influence of homesickness; (5) "no art, of course, is more appropriate to the expression of sentimental feelings than music"; (6) "and no composer of this period has set greater value on *Expressivität* than Mozart"—by the evidence of specified letters; (7) "Mozart's enormous expressivity was his greatest contribution to the fundamental change of the theretofore aristocratic society to a bourgeois society"; (8) therefore he was a revolutionary.

Note the method: the line of reasoning about sentimentality; the unobtrusive shift, in the sixth step, from sentimentality to expressiveness, quite as though they were the interchangeable equivalents they are not; so that, in the next step, the argument may embrace Mozart's music, which is intensely expressive but not sentimental. What I think of the method, the purpose, the complete, detailed piece of writing, I have not been able to find polite language for.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sweatshops for Veterans?

Dear Sirs:

In your issue of July 7, Edward M. Maisel advanced the thesis that government efforts to limit and ultimately abolish industrial homework will "cripple the disabled veteran." Mr. Maisel admits that industrial homework has developed into a system of chain sweatshops in which "able-bodied as well as disabled workers are widely employed"; that "the wages and hours of the unorganized homeworkers are often far below standard and constitute a standing threat to workers employed in factories." Yet he sees no solution for the badly handicapped veteran except industrial homework. This, however, would only help to perpetuate an admittedly vicious system.

Why should men who have fought so gallantly for the economic and social institutions of our democracy be condemned to sweatshop slavery in their homes? As Mr. Maisel points out, the severely disabled may now secure special homework certificates provided they are under the supervision of a state vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop; and this rule is relaxed in cases of "unusual hardship." But Mr. Maisel wants complete freedom for disabled veterans to find employment in this "antiquated" system. He argues that "to insist that they remain under a government-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop is to condemn them to a state of perpetual training without graduation"—"graduation" to what? To the exploitation and underpayment of industrial homework?

The disabled veteran's claim upon society, great as it is, must not be repaid by measures injurious to society as a whole and to the veteran himself. Indeed it would be a grave injustice to attempt to discharge our obligation to the disabled veteran by condemning him to a lifetime of industrial homework. Sheltered workshops would provide a more wholesome environment for the individual than confinement to his own home making artificial flowers, carding buttons, or assembling jewelry, to cite only a few of the traditional homework industries. Under these conditions he would not receive lower rates than those paid to factory workers in the same occupations.

The problem of assimilating disabled veterans into industry is not easy to solve. Private industry must be challenged to do its utmost to make the necessary adjustment. Some heartening progress is being made by conscientious employers. The sheltered workshop is not the only answer to the problem of employing disabled veterans. Much constructive thinking and planning is required to deal humanely and intelligently with the social and economic problems of the seriously disabled whether veterans of the armed services or of the civilian work force.

Increasing the army of industrial homeworkers is no solution. A recent study by the New York State Department of Labor shows that despite the department's efforts to control and curtail homework, the war years have brought an 86 per cent increase in industries where homework is not restricted by homework orders. Because workers flocked to war industries, employers producing civilian and luxury goods turned to the pool of homeworkers. The New York report shows that control of homework is almost impossible. During the first five months of 1944 there were almost as many violations as for the total year of 1942. Most of the violations involved the illegal distribution of homework. So long as homework distribution is permitted at all, violations will be widespread and largely undetected because of the inherent difficulties of enforcement and policing.

The New York report offers convincing evidence of the lower earnings of industrial homeworkers. In 1943 two-thirds of the state's homeworkers were earning under 50 cents an hour—which the War Labor Board characterized even then as "substandard." Homeworkers in the embroidery-on-dresses industry, the highest paid group of homeworkers, received an average of $18.20 for an average work week of 30 hours; an average of $41.57 per week was earned by factory workers in the dress industry during the same period.

Must disabled veterans be condemned to employment in a system so "badly exploited" and generally unrewarding? The answer is "NO."

(MRS.) ELINORE M. HERRICK
Vice President, Consumers' League of New York

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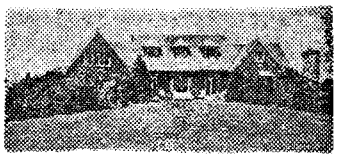

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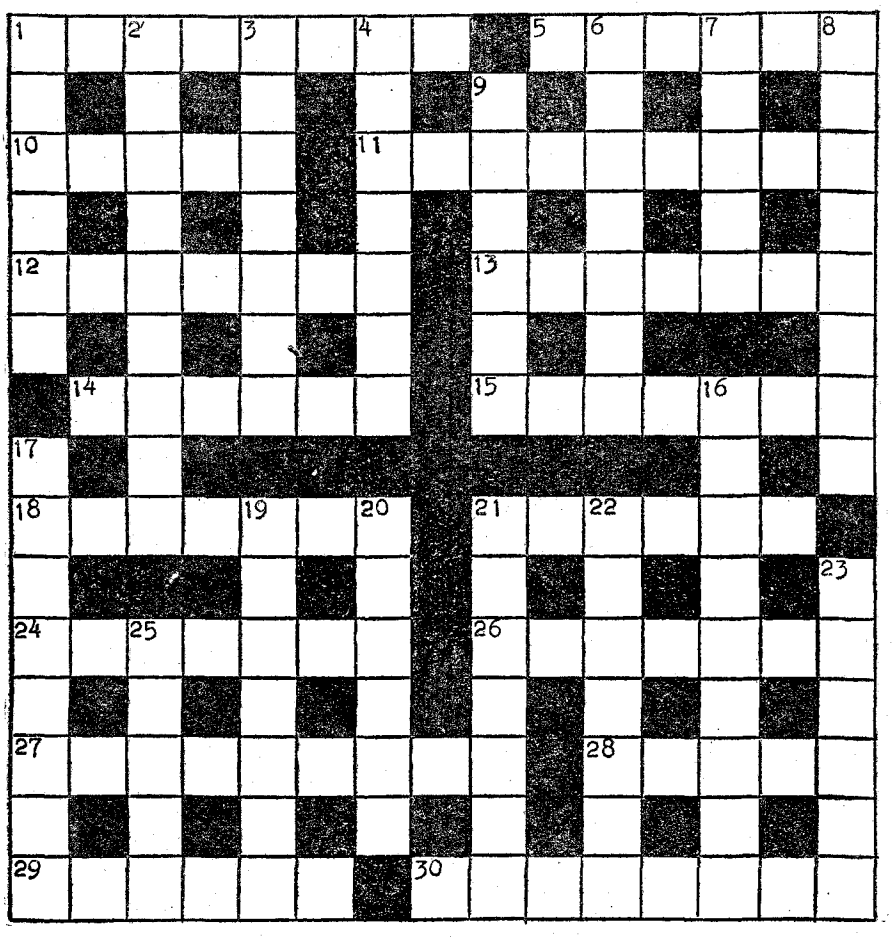
Crossword Puzzle No. 123

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He died by request, in the song
5 Not a *hot* water bottle
10 Worthless English castle
11 Observation an astrologer might have made when you were born
12 Devil take the fellow! (two words, 4 and 3)
13 It dulls the pain a little
14 As the Scotsman remarked after counting it: "It's right, but it's only just right!"
15 The fugitive's refuge, perhaps (hyphen, 4-3)
18 Adjective that can truthfully be applied to only one New York skyscraper
21 The performers in this have to be on their toes
24 One who takes what isn't his right
26 A love story would naturally include a man
27 The one who told you the news
28 American humorist (born Clemens)
29 Its meaning is kept secret
30 What should a man do when nothing comes his way? Take to music?

DOWN

1. Mr. Hyde's alter ego
2 A major-domo
3 Character in Falconer's *Shipwreck* —a pallid Scotsman from the look of him
4 Deprive of support
6 An able-seaman starts to quit the country
7 No gay newspaper column
8 Fire, air, earth and water
9 Looks a peaceful Irish county—there's only one weapon in it!
16 This takes in everybody (three words, 3, 3, 3)
17 Might describe one who has a "middle-aged spread"
19 Purify
20 A couple of sailors are likely to prove a bit of a handful
21 The "Bounding Basque" of the tennis world
22 Most British companies are thus restricted
23 This flag seems to urge us to continue writing
25 "When do we eat?" might be the cry of those who are this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 122

ACROSS:—1 HOVEL; 4 LIP; 6 MORAL; 9 PIT-A-PAT; 10 TURNS IN; 11 ORCHID; 13 DURATION; 15 DEBATER; 16 FINGER; 17 KISS; 19 DAISIES; 21 GOLF; 23 RAFFIA; 25 AGONIST; 27 COMPRESS; 28 EIFFEL; 31 UNUSUAL; 32 OATMEAL; 33 HAGUE; 34 RYE; 35 SINIC.

DOWN:—1 HIPPO; 2 VATICAN; 3 LOPSIDED; 4 LATE; 5 PUT-PUT; 6 MORTAR; 7 ROSSINI; 8 LENIN; 12 DERANGE; 13 DAMSONS; 14 REVERSE; 16 FOG; 18 SEA; 20 SATIATES; 22 LIMBURG; 24 FIFTEEN; 25 AROUSE; 26 OSTLER; 27 COUGH; 29 LILAC; 30 NONE.

Disney Paisanos

Dear Sirs: John Steinbeck's old California paisanos—as they are called by no one today—have become stock fictional characters. Kindly, humble, full of the sweet dignity of man untainted by high-pressure commercialism, etc., etc., they wander through several of Mr. Steinbeck's books and are immortalized in "Tortilla Flat."

Now comes "A Medal for Benny," the screen version of the old familiar song. Its characters are kindly, humble, lovable—but they are a bunch of imposters. I doubt that John Steinbeck has ever been within speaking distance of the Mexican American he chooses to call a "paisano." Certainly he seems to know nothing of their psychology.

To my knowledge, the only worthwhile character study of the type that Steinbeck unsuccessfully depicts was made by Harvey Fergusson in his "Blood of the Conquerors." Fergusson is dealing with a real human being in this book, not a lovely, kindly, homely set of Disney characters. He makes us understand that the kicking around which the average Mexican has received in this land of the free has scarcely tended to promote those human traits so fondly depicted by Mr. Steinbeck.

Steinbeck has created a myth. His paisano is pure baloney.

JOSEPH A. BABANDO

Yuma, Ariz., July 13

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